

SOCIAL STUDIES IN THE
ELEMENTARY SCHOOL



NATIONAL SOCIETY
FOR THE STUDY OF EDUCATION

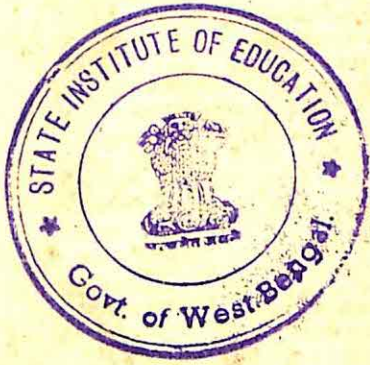
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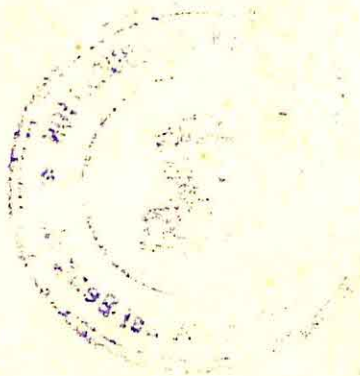
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SOCIAL STUDIES IN THE
ELEMENTARY SCHOOL



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The Society's Committee on Social Studies in the Elementary School

ALVINA TREUT BURROWS

*Associate Professor of Education, New York University
New York, New York*

W. LINWOOD CHASE

*Dean, School of Education, Boston University
Boston, Massachusetts*

STANLEY E. DIMOND

*Professor of Education, University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan*

ERNEST O. MELBY

*Dean Emeritus, School of Education, New York University
New York, New York*

KENNETH E. OBERHOLTZER

*Superintendent, Denver Public Schools
Denver, Colorado*

RALPH C. PRESTON

(Chairman)

*Professor of Education, University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*

Associated Contributors

MILLER R. COLLINGS

*Research Assistant, Cincinnati Public Schools
Cincinnati, Ohio*

DOROTHY MC CLURE FRASER

*Assistant Professor of Education, College of the City of New York
New York, New York*

PAUL R. HANNA

*Professor of Education, Stanford University
Stanford, California*

ASSOCIATED CONTRIBUTORS

HELEN HEFFERNAN

*Chief, Bureau of Elementary Education,
California State Department of Education
Sacramento, California*

RICHARD MADDEN

*Professor of Education, San Diego State College
San Diego, California*

JOHN H. NIEMEYER

*President, Bank Street College of Education
New York, New York*

RALPH H. OJEMANN

*Director, Iowa Child Welfare Research Station
State University of Iowa
Iowa City, Iowa*

HOWARD E. WILSON

*Secretary, Educational Policies Commission
National Education Association
Washington, D.C.*

Editor's Preface

In connection with the announcement of publication of Part II of the National Society's Fifty-sixth Yearbook, *Social Studies in the Elementary School*, it is interesting to note that three of the four volumes comprising the First and Second Yearbooks in this series dealt with the social studies in the common schools. Part I of the First Yearbook, *Some Principles in the Teaching of History*, was written by Professor Lucy M. Salmon of Vassar College for discussion at the general meeting of the Society held in conjunction with the meeting of the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association at Chicago in February, 1902. The text of this volume stressed the selection of materials, methods of teaching, the relation of history to other school subjects, and the organization of an instructional program in history from grade one to grade twelve.

In February, 1903, Part I of the Second Yearbook was published and was devoted to the consideration of an outline for the course of study in history in grades three to eight. This volume was largely prepared by Charles A. McMurry, Secretary of the Society. In the meantime, the Society published (July, 1902, for presentation in connection with the summer meeting of the N.E.A.), as Part II of the First Yearbook, *The Progress of Geography in the Schools*. This volume was prepared by W. M. Davis of Harvard, who emphasized the importance of showing causal relations and urged greater use of laboratory equipment and techniques in the teaching of geography. At a later time and after many changes had been instituted in the programs of the social studies, the Society published *The Social Studies in the Elementary and Secondary School* as Part II of the Twenty-second Yearbook. This volume, prepared by a group of writers under the direction of Professor Harold Rugg, reflects the trend toward broader conceptions of the social implications of democracy in education and points the way to an effective implementation of programs of instruction based on newly recognized objectives and more vital subject matter.

The present yearbook, *Social Studies in the Elementary School*, undertakes to define the role of this field of study in terms of its

peculiar relation to the over-all program of elementary education and new knowledge of the needs of children of this age group as well as in light of current theory respecting curriculum organization and the psychology of learning. It is the hope and expectation of the contributors to this volume that it will promote further progress in the improvement of instruction in the area of the social studies.

NELSON B. HENRY

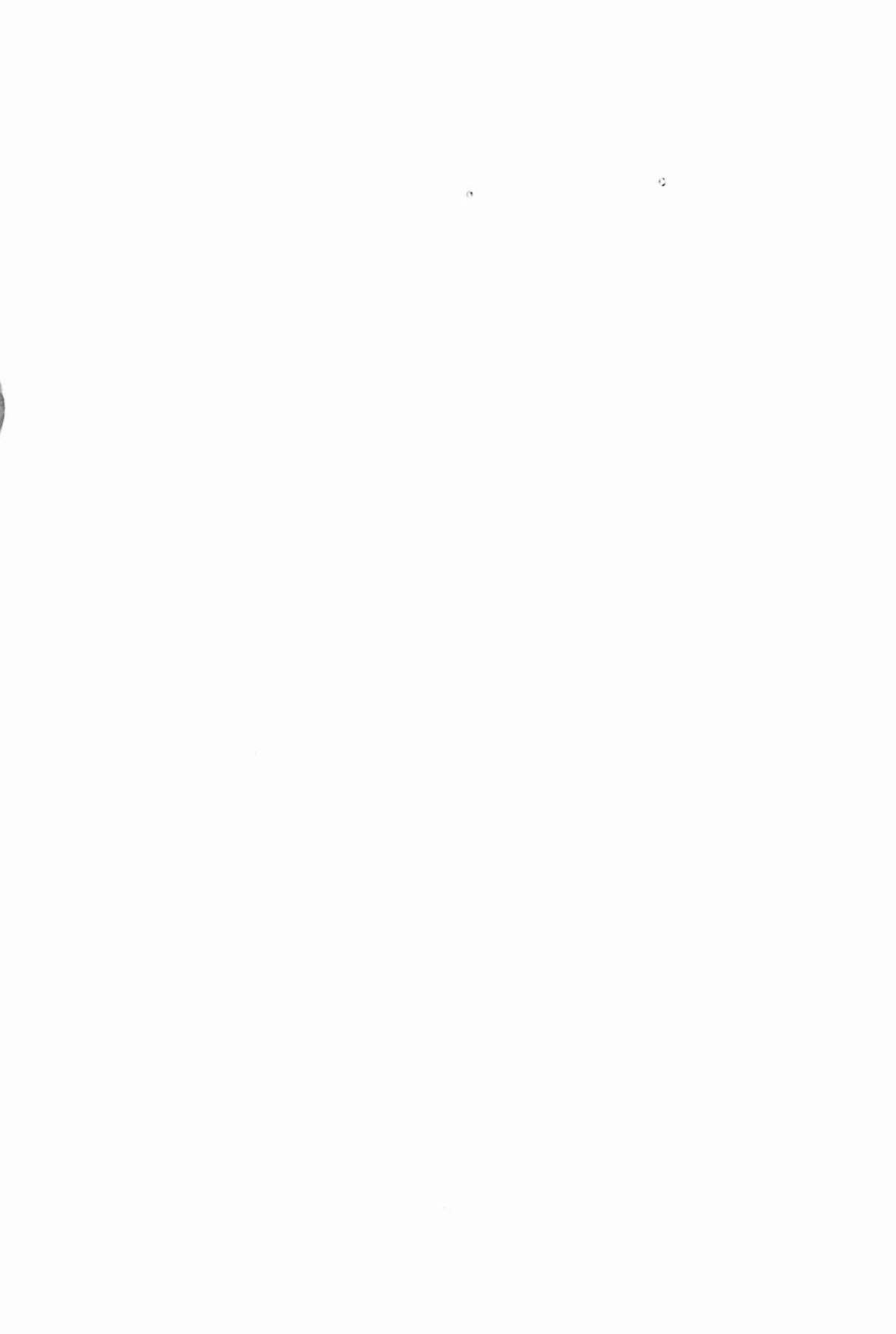
Table of Contents

	PAGE
OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY FOR 1956-57	ii
THE SOCIETY'S COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL STUDIES	
IN THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL	v
ASSOCIATED CONTRIBUTORS	v
EDITOR'S PREFACE	vii
INTRODUCTION, <i>Ralph C. Preston</i>	i
CHAPTER	
I. THE ROLE OF SOCIAL STUDIES IN ELEMENTARY EDUCATION, <i>Ralph C. Preston</i>	4
Problems and Purposes of Social Education. Examples of the Impact of Culture on Social Studies. Creative Power of the School. A Look Ahead.	
II. GENERALIZATIONS AND UNIVERSAL VALUES: THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR THE SOCIAL-STUDIES PROGRAM, <i>Paul R. Hanna</i>	27
Learning Social Concepts. Generalization Defined. Sources of Generalizations and Values. Examples of Search for Gen- eralizations and Values. Design of the Social-Studies Program.	
III. CURRENT SOCIAL TRENDS AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR THE SOCIAL-STUDIES PROGRAM, <i>Stanley E. Dimond</i>	48
Factors Conditioning Social-Studies Teaching. The Import- ance of Social-Trend Analysis. Current Social Trends: An Operative Framework. Conclusion.	
IV. SOCIAL STUDIES IN LIGHT OF KNOWLEDGE ABOUT CHILDREN, <i>Ralph H. Ojemann</i>	76
The Nature of Child Behavior. The Selection of Concepts. How Learning Takes Place. The Development of Values. The Development of Selected Behavior Patterns. Implica- tions for the Teacher.	

V.	SOCIAL STUDIES IN RELATION TO THE TOTAL ELEMENTARY-SCHOOL PROGRAM, <i>Helen Heffernan</i>	120
	Purposes of the Elementary School. The Purposes of the Social Studies. The Place of Social Studies in the Curriculum. The Relation of Social Studies to Science. The Relation of Social Studies to Health Education. The Relation of the Social Studies to the Arts. The Relation of the Social Studies to the Skill Subjects. Social Studies: The Integrating Center of the Curriculum.	
VI.	THE ORGANIZATION OF THE ELEMENTARY-SCHOOL SOCIAL-STUDIES CURRICULUM, <i>Dorothy McClure Fraser</i>	129
	Curriculum Organization and the Aims of Instruction. Patterns of Organization for Elementary Social Studies. Establishing Scope and Sequence for Elementary Social-Studies Programs. Organizing Learning Experiences for Classroom Study. Some Factors Affecting Social-Studies Programs. Summary and Conclusions.	
VII.	INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES IN CLASSROOM LEARNING, <i>W. Linwood Chase</i>	163
	The Learning Needs of School Children. Role of the Teacher in Providing for Individual Differences. Making Social Studies Important to Children. Handling Intake and Output of Ideas. Developing Social-Civic Behavior.	
VIII.	READING, RESEARCH, AND REPORTING IN THE SOCIAL STUDIES, <i>Alvina Treut Burrows</i>	187
	The Learning Process. Relation of Learning Skills to Communication in Society. Problems of Special Importance to Reading. Kinds of Research in Elementary Schools. Techniques of Reporting in Social Studies.	
IX.	EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP, <i>John H. Niemeyer</i>	214
	Citizenship Education Defined. The Foundation: Emotional Health. A Planned Program. In Conclusion: The Long View.	
X.	EDUCATION FOR INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING, <i>Howard E. Wilson and Miller R. Collings</i>	238
	Sense of Space. Sense of Time. Sense of Cultural Variation and Contact. Farsighted Loyalty to One's Own Nation. Problem-solving. Teacher Understanding of International Relations. International Organization. The Group Process.	
XI.	EVALUATING THE SOCIAL-STUDIES PROGRAM, <i>Kenneth E. Oberholtzer and Richard Madden</i>	256
	A Case Study in Evaluation. Denver, Its People, and Its Schools. The Elementary-School Social-Studies Program. An	

Over-all View of Evaluation in Denver. The Use of Generally Accepted Tests in Evaluating Social Studies. The Use of Locally Made Tests. Special Types of Evaluating Instruments. A Critical View of the Denver Program. General Questions Relating to Evaluation of the Social Studies. Conclusion.

XII. IMPROVEMENT OF TEACHING IN THE SOCIAL STUDIES, <i>Ernest O. Melby</i>	285
Educational Leadership in the Social Studies. Importance of Individual Attitudes. Preparation of Teachers and Supervisors. Factors Influencing Teacher and Pupil Behaviors. Maintaining Teacher Morale. Democracy and Freedom. Participation and Learning. The Community as a Learning Laboratory. Conclusion.	
XIII. THE YEARBOOK'S PROPOSALS IN RELATION TO CERTAIN REALITIES FACING THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL, <i>Ralph C. Preston</i>	306
Why Instruction Lags Behind the Hopes of Subject Specialists. Ways in Which the Work of the Elementary-School Teacher Can Be Made More Compatible with Reality. Toward More Realizable Goals.	
INDEX	315
INFORMATION CONCERNING THE SOCIETY	
LIST OF PUBLICATIONS OF THE SOCIETY	



Introduction

RALPH C. PRESTON

The social studies today should occupy a position of supreme importance in education. This view is obscured for many by the prominence and tangible achievements of science and by the widely publicized shortage of citizens adequately trained in the essentials of social understanding and civic behavior. To be sure, we do have a shortage of scientists. Witness industry's frantic search for them. The ultimate key to our nation's future security and well-being, however, does not rest entirely with science.

The evidence is overwhelming that the fundamental problems of our citizens, both as individuals and as a society, lie chiefly in the realm of social engineering. In so far as we have failed as a nation, it has been in the political, social, and economic realms. Our failures are illustrated by our continual difficulties in establishing satisfactory relations in international diplomacy and trade, management-labor disputes, minority-group dealings, and in person-to-person contacts in all spheres of life. Other basic social problems are conservation of natural resources, control of crime, management of farm surpluses, efficiency in government, and maintenance of security without violation of personal freedom.

The elementary-school child naturally is not expected to solve or even to cope with national and international problems of such complexity and magnitude. However, he will be faced as an adult with these or with new ones of equal size and importance. How can he be educated so that his generation will be less naïve, less superstitious, less shortsighted, and less ill-informed than the generation of his elders? How fast and how far can he be introduced to society and its problems? The committee has sought to produce a yearbook which will help answer such questions.

The conviction is strong among the members of the yearbook committee that the area of the social studies is far more central in the education of children than is implied by the place it now holds

in the minds of the general public and in the curriculum of many elementary schools. In many respects the social studies are flourishing, but a large number of school administrators and teachers view social studies as a field marked by elusive objectives, vague concepts, and controversy concerning ends, means, and emphasis.

In view of the prevalence of such an attitude, the committee has chosen to devote the yearbook to a study of those aspects of social studies which seem to be causing the most indecision and vexation and which seem to need fresh treatment. An effort has been made to avoid duplicating what has been adequately presented elsewhere. The committee has thus ruled out any attempt to make the yearbook a comprehensive or systematic treatment of all aspects of the social studies.

The yearbook begins with an appraisal of the role of social-studies instruction in the current period of our national history (chap. i). This is followed by three unique chapters on the raw materials of social studies—viz., the child's world (chaps. ii and iii) and the child himself (chap. iv). Consideration is then given to the troublesome problems of organization. Here two basic questions are taken up: How can the social studies best be fitted into the total elementary-school curriculum so that they will facilitate unity in the curriculum and encourage the child's learning in other areas (chap. v)? And, what is the status of the organization of the social studies in the elementary schools throughout the nation (chap. vi)? Two vital aspects of classroom instruction as applied to social studies are then dealt with: (*a*) providing for individual differences of pupils (which has long needed a new and vigorous treatment) (chap. vii); (*b*) providing reading, research, and reporting experiences for children (processes which are tending toward a hackneyed level, both in the literature and in practice) (chap. viii).

Next, two of the most imperative objectives of the social studies—development of responsible citizenship and promotion of world understanding—are discussed, with full recognition of the complex and often elusive factors involved (chaps. ix and x). The ways and means of evaluating social-studies instruction are described by means of the case history of an actual, particularly imaginative appraisal program as carried out in one school system (chap. xi). Chapter

xii is addressed chiefly to the school administrator and the supervisor, enumerating and describing the human characteristics, relationships, and activities of administrators, supervisors, and teachers that form the basis of effective instruction in the social studies. The yearbook closes with a brief commentary on significant features of the text.

The committee, in its selection of contributors, sought educators whose thinking would represent a range of opinion and would include the distinct and significant points of view which exist today. The committee has relied on specialists in the social studies to present individual aspects of the subject. It has recognized, too, that the yearbook would be strengthened by contributions from several educators who are specialists in the related fields of curriculum, child development, language arts, and school administration and has recruited them.

This volume appears at a time when the professional educator and his work are under criticism—when his role as an “expert” is being challenged and caricatured. Social-studies programs are bearing a share of the attack. Some of the charges are uninformed, such as one based on a confusion of the term “social studies” with “socialism.” The criticism ranges from this sort of thing through many gradations to the sophisticated position of a few scholars that the social studies are so vague and complex that a child cannot bring to them the requisite critical understanding. Despite the prevalence of criticism, the committee believes that the yearbook should not constitute an apologia. The yearbook does provide, however, important data which critics have ignored or distorted. It also points out certain excesses and weaknesses which do exist in social-studies programs.

We as a nation are in desperate need of a citizenry possessing, in a measure as yet unattained, social literacy and a sense of social responsibility, who will be capable of grasping intelligently and then wrestling productively with the complex problems of our social order. Only with a majority of citizens so equipped can we hope to destroy the threat to mankind’s moral fulfilment and very existence which ignorance and complacency pose today. This yearbook indicates ways in which the elementary school can contribute to such social literacy and responsibility,

CHAPTER I

The Role of Social Studies in Elementary Education

RALPH C. PRESTON

Problems and Purposes of Social Education

The role of the social studies in elementary education is to aid the child, from kindergarten or first grade through sixth grade, to understand the concepts that describe and explain human society and to develop the insights and skills required by democratic citizenship. This is a large order. Naturally, the school cannot take sole responsibility for it.

But the school's responsibility for the child's social education is great—and it extends well beyond the social studies. The school discharges part of its responsibility quite apart from any formal, academic study. For example, social education is stimulated as the teacher cultivates a classroom atmosphere which is permeated by mutual regard and respect; when a class discusses together even such small matters as keeping the classroom tidy; or when a teacher helps a withdrawn child find confidence in group activity. Through such means, elementary-school teachers are continually conditioning social attitudes and habits.

It is clear that the social studies do not and cannot deal with the whole range of social education. While they may provide children with opportunities for working out problems of human relations, the social studies focus chiefly upon the systematic widening of the child's knowledge and understanding of the world that lies beyond his own small peer society.

There is an urgency about teaching knowledge and understanding as never before. Only knowledge and understanding will reveal to the individual, for example, the supreme and universal issues of freedom versus slavery, creativity versus conformity, and integrity versus sham. Only knowledge and understanding will disclose the

important facts that man is a co-operative and productive creature and need not be a slave to his self-centered or destructive impulses; that natural resources exist in abundance but must be conserved and harnessed for everyone's benefit; that significant progress toward world order has taken place; and the like.

Social studies, by widening knowledge and understanding, accomplish a host of other tasks. Through social studies we have perhaps a better chance than through any other curriculum area to assist children in the development of loyalty, courage, and a will to act in the preservation of the prized values of our culture.

How can the social studies be employed to establish this kind of social literacy and to create appreciation of our cherished and hard-won values? The urgency of the question makes us want to plunge immediately into the problems of methodology. It will be more productive in the end, however, if we first re-examine from a distance the areas we are exploring, the interrelations between school and society, the problems which are obstructing the effectiveness of social studies, and ways to clear the road ahead. This chapter is written with the purpose of conducting such a re-examination.

Examples of the Impact of Culture on Social Studies

Each distinctive period of social progress has its unique culture, technology, and mode of thought, all of which have an enormous impact upon the schools of the time. The virtues, evils, and excesses of the schools are almost always the virtues, evils, and excesses of society at large. The social studies taught in any one period are inevitably influenced by the environmental pressures of the time and by man's interpretation of his current needs.

Colonial schools reflected colonial values and needs. Most of the early settlers lived close to the soil, intimately dependent upon and observant of the processes of nature—the germination of seeds, the ripening harvest, the sun's annual recession, and its invariable return. Life's uncertainties and risks were great, but its rewards were deeply satisfying. Colonial man, being simultaneously identified with and dwarfed or expanded by infinite forces, and being relatively free of the countless artifices which clutter life today, was peculiarly receptive to spiritual influences.

It was quite natural, therefore, that the colonial school should

have been infused with a religious outlook. Indeed, the chief aim of the elementary school was to teach church doctrine, and social studies, so far as they could be said to exist, dealt with the nature and obligations of man as interpreted by the church.¹

Another example of the impact of culture upon schools is seen in mid-nineteenth century. Its passion for diffusion of knowledge had roots in the technological improvements in paper production, printing, and transportation. These made possible the communication of ideas on a mass basis. Coupled with this development, and partly resulting from it, was the rapid increase in the number of schools, which created a new and enormous reading public. Thirst for reading caused a boom in books. Publication of books, importation of books from abroad, and establishment of newspapers, magazines, and libraries soared.

These materials were by no means entirely religious in content, for a change in emphasis was occurring. The moral standards of reading matter now seemed less important to a large section of the public than its ability to inform the reader about the new world which was being developed by brisk scientific, economic, and geographic expansion. Boundless public curiosity had been aroused. Popularization of knowledge became a dominant theme of the century. A new faith supplemented religious faith—a belief that widely disseminated knowledge, as the enemy of ignorance, was a power that would set men free.²

The expanding school curriculum reflected this faith. Schoolbooks in geography and history came into general use for the first time, crowded with items of factual information. To be sure, the information was not always weighed for its significance or relevance, but it was considered valuable nonetheless, primarily because it was information. The belief was that, if thoroughly drilled into the child, it would add to his stature and effectiveness as an individual and citizen.

Today, as in times past, the elementary school mirrors the values

1. Edgar W. Knight, *Twenty Centuries of Education*, p. 392. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1940.

2. Merle Curti, *The Growth of American Thought*, chap. xiv. New York: Harper & Bros., 1943.

of society. Riesman and his associates direct attention to the widespread tendency today for "other people," i.e., our neighbors, to constitute the focus of our problems, represented in our earlier history by the natural environment. We are preoccupied with what our neighbors may think of us, with their aspirations, their values. Consequently, Riesman points out, social conformity and social adjustment have become important contemporary goals, and our schools reflect this temper in their emphasis upon "the skills of gregariousness and amiability."³ By way of evidence, one might call attention to the increasing popularity in education of such concepts as "social living," "human relations," "sociometry," "teacher-pupil planning," and "group dynamics."

Creative Power of the School

Educators who ignore or dispute the fact that the school is essentially a conserving and stabilizing agency succumb easily to fads. Ignorant of the history and sociology of education, they may think they are battling on the frontiers, only to find themselves eventually on a desert island. But such educators are outnumbered by others who have become overly preoccupied with the conserving function of education and object to the suggestion that schools also have a creative role to fulfil.

Education, though a mirror of society, is not a mirror which mechanically reflects the milieu. A school can scarcely be an impersonal agency, since it is in the hands of human beings, not automatons. Many schoolmen possess scholarship, imagination, vision, and conscientiousness. In addition to performing their routine and traditional duties, they have always tried to keep abreast of changes in society and to remain discriminatingly receptive to the stirrings of contemporary thought—such as to the words of Benjamin Franklin in colonial times, to Horace Mann in the nineteenth century, to

3. David Riesman *et al.*, *The Lonely Crowd*, chap. ii. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1955. This is but one of many voices warning us of our drift to ever greater conformity. Crawford H. Greenewalt, president of E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co., pictures man as being threatened by a growing emphasis on group action and conformity (*New York Times*, April 27, 1956). A similar view is expressed by Alan Valentine (*The Age of Conformity*. Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1954), Adlai Stevenson (*What I Think*, pp. 140-41, 148. New York: Harper & Bros., 1956), and others.

John Dewey in the twentieth century. Each of these men contributed to a broadening and revitalization of education.

Today the school has acquired a degree of self-direction which is uniting it more closely than ever with the social aspirations and needs of the American people. Since the beginning of this century, educators have been searching out pertinent data from history, sociology, and psychology in order to evaluate the schools continuously and deliberately to see how they can be made to serve society better; to find out what is neglected and what is performed in excess, what is primary and what is secondary.

The yearbooks of the National Society for the Study of Education are notable examples of the thoughtful evaluation and re-evaluation of education which help schools serve society creatively as well as to pass on the accumulation of beliefs, knowledge, and skills. For example, the last yearbook of the National Society to be devoted entirely to the social studies, issued thirty-four years ago, proposed methods for reducing the inertia of tradition which had produced a stagnant body of social-studies content.⁴ In the words of Harold Rugg, in the "Foreword" of that yearbook, "the methods of the laboratory must supplant those of the armchair." The approaches suggested in that volume by Rugg, Washburne, Horn, and Harap presented a radical departure from the conventional methods of selecting subject matter. These men showed in detail how more useful subject matter could be brought into the curriculum by deriving it from analysis of the current social scene—practices, usages, problems, issues, opinions, and the frequency with which topics occur in periodical literature. While many educators now believe their procedures were excessively atomistic, these pioneers provided part of the leverage which the schools of a generation ago needed toward relating the subject matter of education more closely to the world of that day.

The significant developments in elementary-school social studies since that time are apt illustrations of the school's creative power. Some of these developments should be noted.

4. *The Social Studies in the Elementary and Secondary School*. Twenty-second Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II. Chicago: Distributed by the University of Chicago Press, 1923.

Community studies, once confined to a rather sterile civics, are now pursued in many schools on a par with the thoroughgoing *Heimatkunde* community studies of the German *Volkschule*.

The current scene is given greater attention. For example, some of the trends discussed in chapter iii of this yearbook are encountered by children today in their study of such commonly taught topics as farming, transportation, communication, and conservation. Studies of foreign cultures are more realistic and up-to-date and avoid the rigid romantic stereotypes which were so widely disseminated in classrooms of the past.

Geography has been increasingly humanized.

The unit concept has spread. Its absurdities have been sloughed off, and it is filling many needs of children which hitherto had been largely overlooked.

Textbooks have improved. They are more readable, contain better pictures and, in general, are more appropriate for children.

Children are now taught to supplement textbook learning with effective research. They learn to make use of a variety of published sources, to judge and compare them, to deal with conflicting data, to interpret maps, graphs, and tables, and to perform other skills which are important in learning about society.

Social-studies instruction, along with other areas of instruction, has improved as a result of the substitution of broad teacher-education for narrow teacher-training, increased emphasis on mental health, and improved classroom book collections.

In view of such gains over a comparatively brief period of time, we have every reason to be optimistic both about the elementary school and about social studies.

However, our seething era does not permit complacency. Elementary-school social studies today require clarification of their role. Honesty forces the acknowledgment that the experimentation and thinking during the past generation have been conflicting. One contribution this yearbook can make is to suggest how some of the tangled strands can be straightened out. This particular chapter will limit itself to the identification of our problems which require solution as a prerequisite to dispelling the confusion caused by divergent philosophies and practices. They center around (a) restoring emphasis upon the social heritage, (b) using the social her-

itage as a vehicle for developing social attitudes and social behavior, (c) developing patterns of constructive social thought, and (d) facing popular doubts about social studies.

RESTORING EMPHASIS UPON THE SOCIAL HERITAGE

The transmission of the social heritage has been an enduring concept of the school's role.⁵ It has served the purpose of providing each generation with a broad base of experience and knowledge for judging with perspective its own thought and action, for enabling overlapping contemporary generations to live and work together with mutual understanding and respect, and for demonstrating today's bond with the past and with the spatially remote. Transmission of the social heritage has thus promoted a sense of continuity and has made the school an agent of social stability. Thus, children become oriented to their world, feel at home in it, sense how their homeland is related to other lands, and realize what man has thought and built. The social studies make a particularly important contribution to this process.

The majority of educators appreciate the necessity for transmitting the social heritage. However, a number of articulate and influential workers in elementary education give little emphasis to and exhibit little enthusiasm for transmitting the social heritage. They accept only grudgingly the transmission of the social heritage as a role of social studies and relegate it to a subordinate position, with low priority.

One objection to heavy emphasis on the social heritage in teaching children stems from the belief that children can see the meaning only of that which touches their own lives. Thus, one textbook for primary-grade teachers suggests that social studies should be limited to generalizations which are related to the social circumstances of the pupils and their physiological and psychological needs and which can be translated in terms of actual behavior.⁶ A doctoral study claims to demonstrate that children of elementary-school age

5. Isaac L. Kandel, "History of the Curriculum," p. 1. New York: The Author (Teachers College, Columbia University), 1935 (mimeographed).

6. Roma Gans *et al.*, *Teaching Young Children*, pp. 91 ff., 223. Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York: World Book Co., 1952.

lack the interest and maturity to deal understandingly with remote foreign cultures.⁷ A leader in educational and psychological research attaches significance to his finding that children, in writing on what they liked about themselves, made slight mention of their intellectual abilities. He argues that schoolteachers and administrators tend to impose their own intellectual approach to life upon the child, to the neglect of considerations which lie closer to the child's needs.⁸ A large number of teachers of children will recognize this kind of speculation as misleading. After one scans a shelf of such books, he is not surprised that some critics charge contemporary education with anti-intellectualism.

Part of the difficulty lies in an oversimplification of how the child learns, as explained by exponents of child-centered education. They assume that all learning is inductive and that learning of the social heritage must hence proceed very gradually from close-at-hand, concrete experiences. The fallacy of this extreme position has been analyzed elsewhere.⁹ The position overlooks the facts that life demands both deductive and inductive thinking, that both types are "natural," and that the child learns both types. Granted that study materials must, in Dewey's words, "at the outset fall within the scope of ordinary life experience,"¹⁰ the pace at which they can advance beyond that narrow scope is probably much more rapid, particularly in this age of television and other forms of mass communication avidly patronized by children, than many proponents of child-centered education are ready to acknowledge.

The fact that few children mention intellectual abilities when polled on their interests does not necessarily mean that they do not

7. Wanda Robertson, *An Evaluation of the Culture Unit Method for Social Education*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1950.

8. Arthur T. Jersild, *In Search of Self*, chap. x. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1952.

9. For example, see William A. Brownell and Gordon Hendrickson, "How Children Learn Information, Concepts, and Generalizations," *Learning and Instruction*, chap. iv. Forty-ninth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part I. Chicago: Distributed by the University of Chicago Press, 1950.

10. John Dewey, *Experience and Education*, p. 87. New York: Macmillan Co., 1938.

value these abilities. Every teacher has found that even children who would normally not be classed as "intellectual" actually do desire and enjoy intellectual experiences. Moreover, not all surveys of children's interests show an indifference to social studies. For example, one study of children's spontaneous questions revealed that almost half of all questions fell in the category of social studies, and many of these dealt with matters remote from the "social circumstances" of children. The subject matter of their questions included the origins of early man, ancient peoples, the development of nations and governments, pioneer life, and other remote topics.¹¹

Teaching the social heritage via social studies sometimes gives the illusion of being inappropriate, because in some classrooms teachers are not skilful in applying one principle of effective teaching, i.e., helping learners establish definite and worth-while goals. While many teachers fail to elicit much enthusiasm from their pupils in studying the social heritage, there is no justification to conclude that this is because of inappropriate content. Other teachers using the same content develop lively interest among their pupils. They make sure their pupils sense the challenge of a topic to be explored, a concept to be clarified, a problem to be solved, "a directing overview, a skeleton to be filled in."¹² They help children see how ideas from the past and from distant regions are working at their own doorsteps.

Another reason why teaching the social heritage sometimes appears inappropriate is the teacher's attempt to introduce too many topics. Many courses of study are conceived and installed in naïve ignorance of one of the oldest and most fundamental precepts of teaching. Whitehead states it thus: "Do not teach too many subjects. . . . What you teach, teach thoroughly. . . . Let the main

11. Emily V. Baker, *Children's Questions and Their Implications for Planning the Curriculum*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1945. Another study revealing the strength of children's intellectual interests is reported by Herbert C. Rudman, "The Informational Needs and Reading Interests of Children in Grades IV through VIII," *Elementary School Journal*, LV (May, 1955), 502-12.

12. G. T. Buswell, "Organization and Sequence of the Curriculum," *The Psychology of Learning*, p. 458. Forty-first Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II. Chicago: Distributed by the University of Chicago Press, 1942.

ideas which are introduced into a child's education be few and important, and let them be thrown into every combination possible." ¹³ Brownell and Hendrickson, in their exposition of the psychology of children's learning, estimate that the number of concepts taught in elementary school "comprise a learning load that is far beyond the capacity of school children to master successfully." They point out that many school administrators and teachers overload the curriculum because they "oversimplify the psychological nature of concepts." ¹⁴

In 1955 the writer surveyed six series of social-studies textbooks and 65 state and city social-studies programs. The third-grade findings are typical: The textbooks contain an average of 112 *categories* of concepts; some of the courses of study provide for the teaching of as many as 13 unit topics. With the subsequent load of concepts to assimilate, children are scarcely apt to show much interest or understanding. The cause of their common dislike of social studies is less frequently the inappropriateness of the concepts than the sheer *bulk* of the concepts.

One of the great needs is for the teacher to limit the number of unit topics and concepts and to seek more thorough and more leisurely study of each. An illustration of how to satisfy this need is seen in the Denver third-grade program, which requires only four units, two of which are predominantly social studies in content and two of which are predominantly science in content: (a) Living in Denver, (b) Animals Near and Far, (c) Money, and (d) Learning about Plants. ¹⁵

Another factor in the current devaluation of teaching the social heritage is the practice in some quarters of using the terms "social studies" and "social living" more or less interchangeably. ¹⁶ The

13. Alfred North Whitehead, *The Aims of Education and Other Essays*, p. 2. New York: Macmillan Co., 1929.

14. Brownell and Hendrickson, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

15. *The Social Studies Program of the Denver Public Schools*. Denver, Colorado: Denver Public Schools, 1954.

16. *The Elementary Course of Study*. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Department of Public Instruction, 1949. Henry Harap, *Social Living in the Curriculum*. Nashville, Tennessee: Division of Surveys and Field Services, George Peabody College for Teachers, 1952.

relationship between the two areas is obvious, but using the terms interchangeably does not promote clear thinking. Such usage results in the practice of referring to social studies as "something that goes on all day." Since schools consist of groups of children who work and play together throughout the day, it is obvious that opportunities for socialization exist practically all day long. But it would be equally plausible to say that, since opportunities for considering the quantitative dimensions of the environment exist all day (as Whitehead, Russell, and other mathematicians have shown), arithmetic "goes on all day." Statements of this sort cause confusion and drain useful terms of their customary meaning. It is no wonder that some supervisors and teachers, equating "social studies" with "social living," conclude that a program which develops amiable relationships in the classroom satisfies the major requirements of the social-studies curriculum.

Few educators would deny the teacher's responsibility to help children practice democratic citizenship through classroom living, to understand their feelings, and to develop insight and skill in their relations with their peers. It is axiomatic that the elementary-school child's first need is a teacher who takes a personal interest in him. The insistence of some educators that *child* is more important than *subject*, while valid, has led to hurtful neglect of subject matter—hurtful because the child suffers from intellectual malnutrition, and organized society suffers from a shallow citizen.

If those of us whose special interest lies in elementary-school social studies sometimes say more about the content than we do about the child, it is not because we minimize the importance of the child; it is more likely because we take the child's importance for granted. When a teacher overlooks a child's adjustment, it is serious; it is equally serious for a teacher to engage in what Buswell aptly phrased the "naïve conceit" of those who "assume that a curriculum can grow out of the concrete life experience of the present and disregard the organized patterns of understanding that previous learning has made available."¹⁷ The need is for sensitive teachers who can make forthright presentations of appropriate portions of

17. Buswell, *op. cit.*, p. 456.

the social heritage in a manner that will start children growing toward depth, breadth, and perspective in their social thinking.

USING THE SOCIAL HERITAGE AS A VEHICLE FOR DEVELOPING
SOCIAL ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOR

The social heritage has a contribution to make to the child's personal development. If it becomes an end in itself, its content becomes inert and produces the mental dryrot against which Whitehead protested so forcefully. "The only use of a knowledge of the past," he wrote, "is to equip us for the present." He viewed the proper purpose of education as one which "preserves the connection between knowledge and the zest of life."¹⁸

Most workers in elementary education probably find such a position theoretically agreeable. It disparages neither the past nor the present. More than that, it suggests the union of knowledge and life, of past and present. A question may arise, however, concerning specific ways in which the social heritage can aid the child. Three major ways will be mentioned here.

The social heritage can contribute to the child's adjustment. From the earliest school years the teacher can help the child consolidate and integrate his fragmentary, lopsided image of the world and find an orderliness in it. Seeing the underlying and abiding order beneath the surface of confusion is one of the first steps in achieving personal adjustment. By the time the child enters school he has seen a great deal of the chaotic surface. His here-and-now world contains its own unpredictability and contradiction (such as his parents' calling the postman by his first name and the family physician by his title and last name.) Added to this are his haphazard glimpses of the distant past and of remote regions, often apocryphally revealed on the television or movie screen, in references and anecdotes of parents and others, and by pictures in the newspaper.

Teachers have a duty to help the child discover coherence in the social heritage, to help him distinguish, relate, sort out, and arrange the myriad details—things, places, persons, names, ideas—which he has met in narrow contexts. Dewey pointed out the fundamental

18. Whitehead, *op. cit.*, pp. 3, 139.

nature of this task of the school. "No experience is educative," he wrote, "that does not tend both to knowledge of more facts and entertaining of more ideas and to a better, a more orderly, arrangement of them." ¹⁹

Everything studied under the heading of social studies has organization. For example, communities, social processes, rivers, and natural resources all have names, limits, types, and subcategories. Man's activities are governed by instinct, season, climate, and topography. Teachers should consciously introduce the child to the world so that intellectual law and order emerge; so that society begins to make sense, despite mankind's unpredictable behavior. They should help the child discern the infinite as well as the *ad hoc*, to develop a framework for arranging and interpreting fresh experiences and data as he encounters them. In the earlier years a topic of study may focus on no more than the local neighborhood, yet the teacher sees and exploits the relationship of that neighborhood to the past and to the outside world.

Thus, the child gradually becomes aware of the organization of the world and fits together many of the facts and ideas he has accumulated. His curiosity becomes directed to exploring new areas, in which he collects and catalogues and interprets new data. He finds deep satisfaction in his increasing feeling of at-homeness in his world. This process is dependent upon an imaginative teacher who sees the importance of this aim of the social studies and who finds in the educational enterprise the excitement of which Whitehead wrote.

Knowledge of the social heritage can broaden the child's perspective. If presented in the spirit already described, knowledge overwhelms the child's natural provincialism. It opens up a view of the world in its full range of fascination and conflict. Knowledge is the building stone of understanding, and from understanding emerges perspective. With perspective, the child can acquire certain insights which so many in preceding generations have missed: realization that changes are inevitable, that social changes do not occur overnight, that change is not always progress, and that man has not always been and need not be supine prey to his physical environment, to social inertia, and to his immature emotions.

19. Dewey, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

Knowledge of the social heritage can contribute to the child's developing sense of responsibility as a citizen. Information about society, if imparted so the child has a conscious goal in examining and considering it, will prod his thought and fire his imagination. There is probably no other route by which responsible action emerges. To be sure, right information does not guarantee right behavior. Educators' recent preoccupation with this negative proposition, however, obscures the fact that, after all, the thought *is* father to the deed.

It is folly to suppose that adjustment, perspective, and responsible behavior can be induced through the content of social studies alone. The fields of religion and psychiatry, for example, employing other means than classroom experiences, play vital roles. But the full possibilities of teaching the social studies in order to build ideals, disciplined thought, and responsible action have been underplayed. They have been underplayed both by exponents of group dynamics, who tend to belittle subject matter, and by exponents of cut-and-dried social-studies programs, who purvey inert information in the name of education. The probability is strong that social studies, properly taught, can have a positive impact upon personal development. A wholesale dedication on the part of the elementary school to such social studies is in order.

DEVELOPING PATTERNS OF CONSTRUCTIVE SOCIAL THOUGHT

Einstein is credited with the remark: "Education is that which remains if one has forgotten everything he learned in school." One element of education he undoubtedly had in mind was *mode of thinking*. Modes of thought are more potent than knowledge in controlling one's behavior and determining the use to which one puts his knowledge. Despite the obvious importance of teaching the child *to think* and *how to think*, these matters have not received much systematic attention from educators and psychologists—at least not in comparison with the attention given to teaching the child *to remember*. There is even lack of clarity concerning the precise patterns which are needed. Two of particular significance to the social studies will be discussed here: thought that demands evidence, and thought that perceives social change.

Thought that demands evidence. Loyalty to free inquiry comes not through preachment but through a pattern of thought which

is congenial to it. Such loyalty emerges in a child through his being encouraged to look for facts, for evidence, as a means to establishing authority. Whether the child is studying the duties of the policeman, the life of Columbus, the invention of the telephone, the height of Mt. Everest, or the beliefs of Mohammed, he should be encouraged to compare sources—including books, films, acquaintances, television, pictures, etc., as well as reading sources—to judge them, and to check differences against still other sources. Those in whom this habit is formed are not easily deluded by propaganda, by appearances, by high-pressure salesmanship, or by the prestige of authority or power. The child who learns to look for evidence also learns to value truth and freedom.

Some teachers fear that if the child becomes accustomed to the process of open-minded inquiry he will direct it to his own heroes, his own actions, and his own convictions, and that he will develop an unhealthy, iconoclastic, cynical, suspicious spirit. If this happens, it probably comes as a result of warped personality development more than as a result of learning to search for the truth. Many teachers have demonstrated, however, that this need not occur. In these cases, the teacher himself sets the model. He demonstrates earnest seeking of evidence, not "debunking." He respects children's honest doubts and helps them seek relevant data.

Teaching the child to look for evidence does not obviate all indoctrination. The value of free inquiry is itself established in the child's mind through indoctrination. Furthermore, as is well stated by Morgan, "There is a great body of attitudes, habits, and convictions which are scarcely at all controversial and which can be safely taught. These include courtesy, honesty, good will toward men, co-operativeness, responsibility, courage, and a feeling of human brotherhood. If less time were spent in indoctrinating children in controversial matters and more time were spent in training them in [developing in them, partly through indoctrination] such generally approved qualities, the results of human harmony would be better." ²⁰

Thought that perceives social change realistically. In periods

20. Arthur E. Morgan, *The "One True Faith" as a Cause of War*, p. 5. Human Affairs Pamphlet No. 36. Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1948.

of rapid social change, such as the present one, orderly progress is blocked by two groups: those who naïvely believe change can be thwarted, and those who see it as a means to utopia. Both the reactionaries and the dreamers are doomed to disillusionment. Teachers can help children build the foundation for a disciplined kind of reaction to social change, based on the habit of appraising change realistically. This involves thinking how prized values can be preserved amid change and how change can be controlled by gradual, orderly processes.

One conspicuous social change is the much publicized "shrinking" of the globe. Due to advances in aviation and communication, remote corners of the earth now have access to each other formerly undreamed of. They have the opportunity of either exchanging ideas and goods to their mutual benefit or bombarding each other with propaganda or deadly missiles. Toynbee writes that if this shrinking of the earth is not to end in mankind's self-destruction, "the only alternative possibility is that it will end in a worldwide social fusion of all the tribes, nations, civilizations, and religions of Man."²¹

Children's thinking must be attuned to the pressing need for understanding peoples everywhere and establishing neighborly attitudes toward them. This matter is dealt with in detail in chapter x.

Another example of social change requiring disciplined thinking is the new industrial revolution wrought by automation (see chap. iii). Experts predict that automation will increase American productivity by one-third in the next ten years; that it will be accompanied by increasing pressure on the consumer to clutter his life still more with dispensable gadgets, extra automobiles, and the like; that the length of the work week will fall drastically; and that leisure will increase for most workers. Through social studies the child can become acquainted with this revolution and learn to face the changes it will bring about. Through various curriculum areas he can be helped to discover values (such as "it is better to create than to look on" and "it is better to participate than to criticize") and occupations (such as working with tools, studying nature,

²¹. Arnold J. Toynbee, "New Vistas for the Historian," *Saturday Review*, XXXIX (January 7, 1955), 7-8, 63-65.

collecting significant objects, and performing music) which will encourage his constructive use of abundant leisure in adulthood.

Automation, with its flood of goods, may heighten more than ever the already tremendous impulse among us to do and to own what our neighbors do and own. Through social studies, it would be possible for children to "discover that their own thoughts and their own lives are quite as interesting as other people's"; and for each child to realize "the enormous potentialities for diversity . . . so that he will not be tempted and coerced into adjustment" and shallow conformity.²²

FACING POPULAR DOUBTS ABOUT SOCIAL STUDIES

Those of us who take a special interest in social studies, and responsibility for promoting them, should face frankly the fact that many school administrators and teachers, not to mention a large segment of the lay public, are skeptical of the value of social studies. Before social studies can gain wider acceptance and support, we shall need to consider sympathetically some of the more persistent doubts.

The charge that social studies lack definiteness. Social studies cause irritation in certain quarters because of alleged nebulous content. Social scientists unwittingly contribute to this irritation by the lack of a common perspective from which to see and discuss the same problems and by ignoring the conclusions of their co-workers when drawing conclusions of their own.²³ The irritation is sometimes expressed as follows: "Why plague children with such vague ideas as standard of living, differences between nationalities, and theories of government? Why not stick to teaching simple facts and skills which they can use? Why not simply tell them about the superiority of their country, how it came to be, and what the rest of the world is like?"

These questions are raised partly because of the comparative newness of the interdisciplinary approach within the social sciences, their recent rapid expansion, public unawareness of their potential in solving problems of human relations, and a persistent public view

22. Riesman *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 349.

23. Jay Williams, "The Aspects of Social-Science Education," *Journal of General Education*, VI (April, 1952), 180-86.

that social problems are best solved through elected officials, on-the-spot bargaining and compromise, and common sense. Much of this form of opposition may disappear with the passage of time, the maturing of the social sciences, and increased public awareness of contributions to the solution of current problems by economists, city planners, and other social scientists.

The point need hardly be labored that social studies are not inherently nebulous. While they deal with abstractions such as progress, leisure, and competition and with complexities such as international trade, industrial relations, and public opinion, most elementary-school social-studies programs emphasize how people live (or lived), how things work (or worked), the location and uses of natural resources, the lives and qualities of great men and women, and other specifics.

Perhaps the best thing educators can do to remove public suspicion of vagueness in social studies is to establish a more leisurely approach to each topic, with less concern to cover so many topics in a school year. The children would then have time to explore more thoroughly those details and take part in those activities which supply the meaning, imagery, and concrete illustration that make learning worth while to children.

The charge that social studies are unsuitable for children. The charge that social studies are unsuitable for the young child often comes from adults who feel their security and authority threatened when children discuss controversial matters like the role of the government in forest conservation or the rights of minority groups in the community. They see their children looking objectively at aspects of society which for themselves are emotionally colored by prejudice.

Even when conflict of opinion is not involved, there is fear that telling the child the whole truth about social problems invites disillusionment concerning ideals which we adults are seeking to establish. Thus, many sincere critics maintain, it is better not to teach the child that some members of George Washington's army were insubordinate and irresponsible, or that neighborhood stores sometimes engage in cut-throat competition, or that there are ominous rumors of war. We should spare the child, they believe, such disillusioning and upsetting ideas by simply withholding them.

Yet most educators know that concealing facts is futile. Children

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687



are bound to learn "the worst," one way or another, through such means as books, television, or the overtones of adult conversation. Children's play, art, and conversation reveal that they sense the world's unpleasantnesses. They recognize unconsciously the inaccuracy of teaching which emphasizes only agreeable facts. They will have a firmer understanding of human nature and society and more faith in their teachers if they are helped to integrate the unpleasant with the pleasant, the disillusioning with the ideal; and they will thus be saved later shock and disillusionment in adolescence when it is important for them to be able to accept the world with a measure of poise.

This is not a plea for a diet of controversial current events in the elementary school which could embroil children, in their immaturity, in unhealthfully critical, bewildering discussion. "One must be loyal before one is critical." Furthermore, the teacher has the charge to inspire dreams of what life might hold and to help bring about a renaissance of faith. Nevertheless, a plea must be entered for giving the child a truthful account of society. Whether the child studies the neighborhood, transportation, or Marco Polo, he should not be denied relevant facts on the grounds that they will spoil a pretty picture. It is a job for educators to help the public recognize the child's capacity to assimilate social realities, understand how inaccurate much of his knowledge is, and realize how much better it is for the teacher to help him integrate and interpret good and bad social realities than to leave them to the lurid distortions of comics and television and the ignorance of his companions.

Other doubts about the suitability of social studies for children arise from research findings that children's quality of reasoning is inferior,²⁴ and from the writings of certain sociologists who believe the child lacks sufficient critical understanding to justify any serious study of society until he is beyond the high-school years.²⁵

24. Jean Piaget, *Language and Thought of the Child*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1926. Anselm Strauss and Karl Schnessler, "Socialization, Logical Reasoning, and Concept Development in the Child," *American Sociological Review*, XVI (August, 1951), 514-23.

25. David Riesman, "Some Observations on Intellectual Freedom," *American Scholar*, XXIII (Winter, 1953-54), 21. Erich Fromm, *The Sane Society*, p. 346. New York: Rinehart & Co., 1955.

This position is, however, in large part speculative, its data are spare, and it runs counter to many established facts of child development. The elementary-school curriculum should not be diluted on the basis of it. These writers have usefully called attention to the fact that social concepts in childhood should have a foundation in concrete experience. They overlook the fact that the child mind darts swiftly and surely from the concrete to concern with the origin of things, how man acquires and verifies his knowledge, and faraway places.²⁶

The charge that social-studies programs lack substantial content. Ground for this criticism is the practice in some schools of deriving subject matter from trivial events. In one school, for example, a series of interviews with seventy second-grade pupils disclosed that the social-studies content was insubstantial, unchallenging material, which the children had already known and understood.²⁷ Attempts to strengthen content have met with resistance from a variety of sources. One writer believes that learning history requires "cognitive qualities" which children do not possess and prefers a "program of social education which is built around children's everyday living problems."²⁸ Another believes elementary-school children are too immature to study foreign cultures.²⁹ Such underestimation of children's capacities renders the elementary school lamentably vulnerable to attack.

The charge that social studies fail to produce adequate social literacy. Surveys have reported that elementary-school pupils, secondary-school students, college students, and adults miss, on the aver-

26. Illustrations of children's skill in thinking appear in many sources. See, for example, Victoria Hazlitt, "Children's Thinking," *British Journal of Psychology*, XX (April, 1930), 354-61; and Jean M. Deutsche, *The Development of Children's Concepts of Causal Relations*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1937. Illustrations of children's readiness to deal with remote times and places also appear in many sources. See, for example, Robert J. Havighurst, *Human Development and Education*, chap. vii. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1953; and Alvina T. Burrows, *Teaching Children in the Middle Grades*, chap. v. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1952.

27. J. D. McAulay, "Social Studies in the Primary Grades," *Social Education*, XVIII (December, 1954), 357-58.

28. Leo J. Alilunas, "History for Children—Too Much Too Soon," *Elementary School Journal*, LII (December, 1951), 215-20.

29. Robertson, *op. cit.*

age, more than half of the items in tests covering various branches of the social sciences;³⁰ that the attitudes of college students toward social problems leave much to be desired;³¹ and that secondary-school students have "a marked tendency to think in terms of catchwords or slogans rather than in terms of facts."³² Some critics, in dramatizing these findings, have overlooked two facts: (a) The test items tend to be few and highly specific, whereas the social-studies area contains almost limitless specific information. (b) The tests cover only a narrow segment of learning outcomes.³³

Despite the inadequacy of the tests, the schools cannot afford to ignore the challenge of their critics. Without a doubt, schools should be teaching facts with greater effectiveness and permanency than in the past. It is encouraging to note that many educators are re-establishing the importance and respectability of knowledge.

The elementary school has a part to play in meeting the challenge. In the first place, it can work toward improving social-studies instruction so as to create greater genuine interest on the part of children.³⁴ The elementary school also has a responsibility for developing in children a respect for factual information. Some teachers are still misguided by the meaningless slogan, "Teach the

30. William H. Burton, *Children's Civic Information, 1924-1935*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1936. Francis T. Spaulding, *High School and Life*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1938. Delbert Clark, "Dangers in What We Don't Know," *New York Times Magazine*, March 22, 1953, pp. 17, 62-64. John W. Gates, "The Civic Competence of High-School Seniors." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Education, University of Chicago, 1945.

31. Albert W. Levi, *General Education in the Social Studies*. Washington: American Council on Education, 1948. James M. Gillespie and Gordon W. Allport, *Youth's Outlook on the Future*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., 1955.

32. Spaulding, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

33. These and other points are presented by Benjamin Starr in a letter to the editor of the *New York Times Magazine*, April 12, 1953.

34. Four important studies of children's subject preferences published between 1937 and the present show social studies ranking low in popularity. They are summarized by Ralph C. Preston, *Teaching Social Studies in the Elementary School*, chap. iv. New York: Rinehart & Co., (revision in preparation). One of these is discussed in this yearbook in chapter vii.

child and not the subject," and look guilty when visitors to their classroom catch them imparting knowledge to their pupils!

Imparting knowledge, of course, can be done in such a drab manner that neither interest nor respect is engendered. The teacher creates both interest and respect through careful planning of objectives, through providing for pupil participation in a variety of activities, through developing study and research skills, and through use of differentiated reading materials to conform to the varied levels of reading represented in the class.³⁵

Successful teaching, of course, involves more than making the study interesting. Equally important is attention to study skills, to principles of drill and practice, and to conditions which minimize forgetting.³⁶

The need for better survey instruments is obvious. Educators and the public alike should be able to assay the social literacy, attitudes, and behavior of pupils and the schools' graduates, who are now adults, with greater certainty than is now possible. The traditional tests of social-studies achievement are too narrow in scope, emphasizing the measurement of information, much of which is not universally taught. At least one new series of tests promises to supply the need by measuring understandings and skills which probably all social-studies programs aim to develop.³⁷ Many excellent approaches to surveying social attitudes and values at the college level are now under study by the Hazen Foundation.³⁸

The best hope for increasing public awareness of the value of social studies lies in establishing improved social-studies programs

35. These and other methods which build interest are discussed by W. Linwood Chase, "Characteristic Differences between High-rated and Low-rated Social-Studies Classrooms," *National Elementary Principal*, XXIX (October, 1949), 17-20.

36. G. Lester Anderson and Arthur I. Gates, "The General Nature of Learning," *Learning and Instruction*, chap. i. Forty-ninth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part I. Chicago: Distributed by University of Chicago Press, 1950.

37. Educational Testing Service, *Co-operative Sequential Tests of Educational Progress: Social Studies*. Probably available for distribution in September, 1957. The tests appropriate for the elementary-school level (Grades IV to VI) will be labeled "Level 4." The tests extend through the second year of college.

38. Philip E. Jacob, *Changing Values in College*. New York: Edward W. Hazen Foundation (in preparation).

containing more substantial, lucid, interesting, and useful experiences and content. Subsequent chapters give illustrations of social-studies experiences which enable children and their parents to sense the possibilities of the social sciences in providing more intelligent and better informed direction of social affairs.

A Look Ahead

How can the elementary school and its social-studies program help the child acquire resources and equipment equal to the demands of citizenship in the atomic age?

The first requirement is for elementary-school teachers to grasp the implications of this task and the driving necessity for performing it. A second requirement is for serious dedication by teachers to the objectives of the social studies.

The momentum of elementary education may prove the aroused teacher's best ally. Institutions, like persons, grow from their strengths. The elementary-school's strengths are legion. The school has a tradition of stability and common sense. It has shown receptivity to new insights from the fields of psychology and child development. It has a fair record of openmindedness in revising procedures and materials to meet new needs. In the vitality of these qualities rests one of the great promises that today's elementary school will fulfil its difficult modern role.

CHAPTER II

Generalizations and Universal Values: Their Implications for the Social-Studies Program

PAUL R. HANNA

Learning Social Concepts

The social studies deal with man's ways of living with his fellow men in the present as well as in the past and in the future.

The purpose of the social studies in the elementary school is to provide children with learning experiences out of which will develop the understanding, attitude, and behavior essential for effective participation in social, economic, and political affairs. Such participation takes place in a series of expanding communities, commencing in the smallest and most fundamental community (the family group), and moving constantly outward through the school, the neighborhood, the state, the nation, and the world. Effective participation in man-to-man affairs in all of these expanding communities simultaneously is necessary for survival and progress of our democratic Republic.

It is a thesis of this volume that the understandings and attitudes characteristic of good citizenship cannot all be learned through a separate and direct experience with each and every understanding and type of behavior; efficiency of learning suggests a wise alternation of direct experience (inductive) and derived experience (deductive). Once a child has had a direct experience, he can be aided in generalizing; from such inductively arrived at generalization, he can learn to deduce the consequences of untested action where the elements and relationships are similar to the situation directly experienced.

It is a second thesis of this volume that the development of understanding and behavior of the good citizen cannot be left to chance; the stakes of cultural survival and progress are too high to

permit anything less than a careful and comprehensive selection of those generalizations and values which are thought to give the greatest assurance of sound social arrangements and progress.

Other chapters in this volume treat of the current social scene and the crucial problems it poses for the social-studies program; still other chapters deal with the methodological factors of child growth and the nature of the teaching-learning activities from which generalizations and values are developed. This chapter will review the nature and source of the generalizations and the more universal values that form the basis of the content for the social-studies program.

Generalization Defined

There is a considerable difference in meaning between two uses of the term *generalization*. One use denotes a *process* while the other use indicates the *product* resulting from the process. To keep our meaning clear in this discussion, we will use *generalizing* when we refer to the process, and *generalization* when we speak of the product of generalizing.

Brownell and Hendrickson have termed a generalization as "... any verbalized formulation of a relationship which is of broad applicability."¹ Such an inclusive definition would, of course, cover statements at many levels of abstraction and accuracy. The laws of gravity, memory gems, and rules of punctuation could all be classified under such a definition. To delimit the definition in such a way that it can be used as a tool for improvement of the social-studies curriculum, the element of relationship indicated above needs further explanation.

Relationship implies the presence of two or more of "something" to be related; in the case of a generalization, a concept is related to one or more different concepts. For instance, "The exploitation of ore deposits is encouraged by high prices" certainly indicates relationship ("exploitation is encouraged") between two concepts ("ore deposits" and "high prices"). Of course, one could argue

1. William A. Brownell and Gordon Hendrickson, "How Children Learn Information, Concepts, and Generalizations," *Learning and Instruction*, p. 117. Forty-ninth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part I. Chicago: Distributed by University of Chicago Press, 1950.

that each word of the quotation is a concept; but such a view only complicates a working definition of a generalization.

Restatement of Brownell and Hendrickson's terms now results in this definition: *A generalization is a descriptive statement of broad applicability indicating relationship between two or more concepts.*

Sources of Generalizations and Values

It is the writer's assumption that the primary source of generalizations about and of values for directing man-to-man relations is the literature of the social sciences. It is not necessary to argue about terms or to defend the use of the older (social sciences) or the newer (behavioral sciences). All will agree that the scholars have analyzed, sorted, and organized a vast body of facts and phenomena out of which have emerged concepts and generalizations in the several separate strands or disciplines of the social sciences. From these reservoirs of scholarly generalizations, the elementary school may draw subject matter for the social-studies program.

It must be said at this point, and said emphatically, that the logical order of the generalizations and the methods of teaching-learning traditionally utilized by these same scholars to teach their advanced students in the university are not appropriate for the immature pupils in the elementary schools. The psychology of childhood clearly demonstrates that we have better ways of directing the learning of the young than is implied in the traditional collegiate model. But the problem of *method* in the social-studies program of the elementary school is dealt with elsewhere in this volume. This chapter focuses on the nature and source of generalizations and values, not on their acquisition.

There are several ways to group and classify the interests and activities of man. The ancient Chinese divided man's interests into three: (a) man-to-thing; (b) man-to-man; and (c) man-to-spirit. These divisions correspond rather closely with our modern labels of (a) the natural sciences; (b) the social sciences; and (c) the humanities.

The social sciences, the man-to-man relationships, are divided into several branches. The *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* lists

seven "purely social sciences," four "semisocial sciences," and five "natural sciences or humanities with significant social implications."²

The more purely social-science disciplines include:

1. *Political Science*, the study of the theory and practice of institutions of control or government of the organized community
2. *Economics*, the study of the theory and practice of the ways in which groups of men extract or grow raw materials, process them and make goods and services, and distribute them to satisfy human wants
3. *History*, the study of the record of man's past in all the basic human activities
4. *Jurisprudence*, the study of the theory and practice of law
5. *Anthropology*, the study of the customs, habits, attitudes, and institutions of men in cultural evolution
6. *Penology*, the study of crime, its punishment, and the management of prisons
7. *Sociology*, the study of the totality of the basic human activities in communities

The four semi-social sciences are:

1. *Ethics*, the study of the standards for judging the rightness or wrongness of human conduct in communities
2. *Education*, the study of the process by which communities enculturate their young for perpetuation and improvement of the culture and the individual
3. *Philosophy*, the study of the principles which underlie all human behavior
4. *Social psychology*, the study of the behavior of the individual and of groups as they react in groups

The *Encyclopedia* still further lists five disciplines which are more accurately classified as natural sciences or humanities but which have significant implications for the social sciences:

1. *Biology*, those aspects that have social content, such as eugenics
2. *Geography*, those aspects that deal with man living in his physical environment
3. *Medicine*, those aspects that have to do with the social causes and management of health or lack of health
4. *Linguistics*, those aspects of comparative language that show the history of development of societies of men

2. Edwin R. A. Seligman, "What Are the Social Sciences?" *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, I (1937), 3-7. New York: Macmillan Co., 1937.

5. *Art*, the study of man's efforts to interfere with nature for his own ends

There is much current interest in reclassifying the activities of men living in communities; the emergence of the new phrase, "behavioral sciences" is one manifestation of the thought and invention along these lines. But this discussion is limited to a consideration of these disciplines as sources from which generalizations and values may be abstracted for use in the elementary social-studies program.

Traditionally, only three of the above sixteen disciplines were thought to contain content for the social-studies program: history, civics (politics), and geography. This narrow conception of the range of content for school use is responsible for much criticism of today's social-studies program. Recent curriculum work has broadened the range of generalizations and the values to be included.

For the purpose of this chapter the writer has somewhat arbitrarily chosen nine of the sixteen disciplines listed above as constituting the primary sources for social-studies generalizations and values:

1. Anthropology (cultural)
2. Economics
3. Ethics
4. Geography (human)
5. History
6. Jurisprudence
7. Political science
8. Psychology (social)
9. Sociology

It is the writer's belief that within the literature of these separate social sciences we will find a rich pool of generalizations and values that have been too long ignored in the social-studies program. There is much evidence, however, that the tide has turned and educators are earnestly seeking help from these disciplines.

Examples of Search for Generalizations and Values

Six examples of such activity are here sketched to provide illustrations of some approaches to the identification of generalizations and values from the social sciences. Then, in turn, each of the

illustrations will be given some elaboration. The six illustrations are.

1. A national conference of cultural anthropologists and educators, held in 1954, explored anthropological content of significance to education.
2. A comprehensive effort by a state department of education is being made to work with scholars to explore content from the social sciences for use in the social studies.
3. A recent educational magazine devoted an issue to exploring possible contributions of the social sciences to education.
4. An intensive investigation was made of the more scholarly literature in one social-science discipline, human geography, to find the concepts that could be useful in the social studies.
5. Other investigations have been made of the selected literature from another social-science discipline, ethics, to find values that could become content for the social studies.
6. An extensive group research is now under way to identify the generalizations from most of the social-science disciplines and to classify them according to a design proposed for the social-studies program of the elementary school.

1. EDUCATION AND ANTHROPOLOGY CONFERENCE

One attempt to identify the interrelations between education and a social-science discipline is demonstrated by the 1954 Education and Anthropology Conference sponsored by the American Anthropological Association and the Stanford University School of Education and Department of Sociology and Anthropology. Less interested in an evaluation of the education-anthropology interrelationships of the past than in the possible co-operative frontiers of the future, the group made tentative contributions to both areas.³

As Lawrence Frank pointed out in the preface to the conference report, when the schools are faced with problems of educating within a cultural community, they "should look for whatever insights and understandings may be available from other professions to help them undertake . . . relatively new and unprecedented educational tasks."⁴

2. CALIFORNIA STATE STUDY

The California State Central Committee on the Social Studies,

3. *Education and Anthropology*. Edited by George D. Spindler. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1955.

4. *Ibid.*, p. ix.

created to conduct an "intensive and comprehensive analysis of the social-studies program in California at all levels," probably involves the widest participation to date.⁵ Three groups—one of educators, one of lay citizens, and one of social-science specialists from California colleges and universities—assist the Central Committee. These working groups seek to identify the core of human knowledge essential for competent citizenship behavior in modern society. Scholars from the various social-science disciplines explain, at a series of regional conferences, the concepts and generalizations they regard as basic and essential to citizenship. Out of these analyses, presented first by scholars and reacted to by laymen and educators, the Central Committee hopes to draw the raw material useful to local curriculum committees throughout the state of California.

3. AN EDUCATIONAL JOURNAL SEARCHES

A third example of interest is the recent issue of *Educational Leadership* devoted to the topic "What Are We Finding Out from Related Fields?"⁶ As the guest editor, an anthropologist, stated the rationale for the issue:

The premise upon which this special issue of *Educational Leadership* was initiated and has been organized is that education in our mass, suburbanizing society is so complex, so encompassing, that methods, data, concepts and understandings from all sources are needed to help maintain and improve it. It is further presumed that there is a sociological, historical, economic, psychological, etc., aspect to most if not all that goes on in educational institutions. On these bases, eight authorities representing as many presumably relevant disciplines have been asked to provide a brief statement of what major possibilities of application they see—realized or potential—in their special fields.⁷

This special issue is of great significance for it represents in the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development a recognition that curriculum rests on content as well as on method. Further, such an effort by specialists to be intelligible to educators

5. Jay D. Conner, "The State Central Committee on the Social Studies," *California Schools*, XXVI (February, 1955), 73.

6. George D. Spindler, guest editor, "Editorial: An Overview of the Related Fields," *Educational Leadership*, XIII (May, 1956), 463-66.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 463.

through publication in an educational journal indicates a degree of empathy between social scientists and educationists. Such efforts may germinate curricular improvement in the social studies that will be both academically and functionally sound.

4. GENERALIZATIONS FROM GEOGRAPHY

A fourth example is an investigation by Douglass.⁸ Because it is considered the most comprehensive and scholarly report based on the assumption that the educator must draw on the specialists in selecting curriculum content, the study receives extended treatment here. Douglass undertook to identify and classify interrelationships persisting between man and his physical environment. The author asserted that, just as the activities of man are modified by his physical environment, so man everywhere struggles to adapt that environment to his own purposes. The interactions between man and his physical environment received extensive definition by Douglass as interrelationships.

Seeking more than factual information, which changes from generation to generation, Douglass sought fundamental relationships deemed essential by human geographers to "citizenship competency in a complex, industrial society."⁹ His stated purpose was to provide a resource document for all persons—teachers, administrators, parents, writers—influencing the selection of content for the social-studies curriculum.

For the purposes of his study, Douglass listed three elements that had to be identifiable in each interrelationship: (a) the human element; (b) the natural environmental element; and (c) the element of relationship. The extensiveness of these elements is best illustrated by the accompanying chart reproduced from Douglass.

From a collection of the periodicals and books of approximately 700 authors, Douglass narrowed the tentative list to a working bibliography of nineteen books and forty-two articles. After initial analysis, nearly 3,500 statements of interrelationship were extracted

8. Malcolm P. Douglass, "Interrelationships between Man and the Natural Environment for Use in the Geographic Strand of the Social Studies Curriculum." Unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1954.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 192.

CHART 1 *

FACTORS WITHIN THE INTERRELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN MAN AND HIS ENVIRONMENT

MAN	SCOPE OF THE INTERRELATIONSHIPS	THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT
Man in General (Civilized—Primitive) One of the basic human activities (or a major division thereof): Protecting and Conserving Producing Distributing Transporting Communicating Consuming Expressing Aesthetic and Religious Impulses Providing Recreation Providing Education Organizing and Governing	Relationships of Man and the Geographical Environment in General Population Relationships Physiological Relationships Economic Relationships Political Relationships Social and Cultural Relationships Military Relationships	Environment in General One or more elements, resources, or raw materials of the environment (or a major division thereof): Soils Atmosphere Surface Water Features Underground Waters Rocks and Minerals Land Forms Littorals The Oceans Physical Space or Area Natural Situation Relative Location Global Position Regional Form Spatial Natural Vegetation Micro-organisms Native Animal Life Biotic Elements—Resources—Raw Materials

* Reproduced from Malcolm P. Douglass, "Interrelationships between Man and the Natural Environment for Use in the Geographic Strand of the Social Studies Curriculum," p. 45. Unpublished Ed. D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1954.

from this working bibliography. The definitional criteria were then applied, and the statements containing all three elements of definition were coded and filed. Comparable statements were then synthesized and again classified. This final processing of data "yielded 824 discrete statements illustrating interrelationships between man and his environment."¹⁰

Douglass reported his data in logical form. He organized them under the seven headings listed under the subtitle, "Scope of the Interrelationships," in the chart reproduced above. Further analysis of each interrelationship for "cause and result" factors required further classifications under seventy subheadings. The selected and organized data provide an extensive, accurate listing of the "more fundamental and significant environmental influences which pervade man's relationships to man throughout the globe."¹¹

The findings, of significance to geographers and educators alike, now serve as basic source materials for any thorough consideration of the geographic strand of the social studies. The work of Douglass, organized and indexed in its final report, serves equally well as reference materials for any type of social-studies curriculum pattern.

To illustrate the nature of these interrelationships, two selections from each subheading of one major scope factor are reported here. The number [e.g., (8)] after a statement indicates the number of times Douglass reports finding this interrelationship stated in the working bibliography.

Social and Cultural Interrelationships

CULTURE AND CIVILIZATION

The material aspects of modern civilization are completely dependent upon minerals. (8)

Religious beliefs and rituals and social rites are influenced by the natural environment. (5)

SOCIAL UNITY

Mountains tend to isolate and separate the communities within the mountain regions [as well as] . . . the peoples on either side. (5)

Soil differences and the patterns of natural vegetation often produce profound social differences. (3)

10. *Ibid.*, p. 196.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 197.

PERSONALITY, PERSONALITY TRAITS, AND BEHAVIOR

Isolated living tends to separate men psychologically as well as economically. (6)

Man adjusts, modifies, and compromises his group behavior in order to live in his natural surroundings. (4)

RECREATION

Seaside locations often attract tourists for health and recreation. (7)

Inland waters [serve] as centers for health and recreation. (8)¹²

Other illustrative statements selected from the remaining six major headings of the Douglass study indicate the breadth of the reported generalizations:

Interrelations between Man and the Natural Environment in General

Man satisfies virtually all of his needs for food, clothing, and shelter from the land. (6)

Where man upsets the balances in nature, he frequently modifies the environment to his detriment. (4)

Physiological Interrelationships

Water, soil, and sunlight are the basic needs of life. (8)

Related to each of the sources of water man uses are factors producing or inhibiting disease. (4)

Population Interrelationships

The distributional pattern of the world's population is characterized by marked unevenness both in total numbers and in density. (13)

All cities face the problem of securing and maintaining an adequate supply of pure water for their residents. (5)

Economic Interrelationships

Transportation stimulates regional specialization of production and the exchange of products for goods in which other areas specialize. (10)

As a population increases, an accompanying increase occurs in pressure upon natural resources which support that population. (6)

Political Interrelationships

The size and form of a state alone has an important bearing on its development and organization as a political unit, its internal political, economic, and cultural life, its role in international affairs, and its destiny in time of war. (5)

Certain areas possess strategic significance in world affairs, often

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 184 ff.

because of their position alone, not only in war but in times of peace as well. (8)

Military Interrelationships

Strategic considerations have been modified by the changes brought about in modern warfare. (1)

Domination of the earth and domination of the air are today inseparable. (1)¹³

The results of such an investigation of the literature in one social-science discipline have many implications for the instructional program of the elementary schools. The report can serve teachers as a guide to content selection; the interrelationships can serve as focusing points for the selection of materials and activities as well as "anticipated outcomes" of inductive thinking about experiences provided by the schools.

Supervisors and other administrators can use the generalizations to assist in curriculum development, in in-service programs, for selection of instruction materials, for evaluation of growth toward objectives of geographic understanding, and for clarifying to parents the role of geography in the social studies. Persons responsible for preparation of instructional materials—texts, audio-visual aids, standardized tests¹⁴—can use them as guides or as check devices to determine the comprehensiveness of their products.

5. VALUES FROM ETHICS

A fifth illustration of content selection from our cultural heritage consists of three studies in the field of ethics.

Ethics is the study of moral behavior which, in turn, is largely determined by values. Values, rooted in human experience, largely determine whether or not behavior is moral. Out of the totality of human experience transcending all human cultures, we find values that apparently are common to all mankind and, therefore, common to all human experience. These, by definition, will be called universal values.

13. *Ibid.*, *passim*.

14. Robert L. West and Claude E. Norcross, "The Preparation of Teachers in Geography." Unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1955. These investigators used interrelationships from the Douglass study to construct and standardize a test on geographical understandings.

Within this mainstream of experience there are different social, economic, and political systems that engender unique cultural interpretations of experience. Within the American national community, men have shared experiences in which certain unique values have been realized. Within regional, state, local, and family communities, certain experiences have been interpreted as satisfying particular needs. As man in any and all of these communities has acted in a desired manner and found the action to be desirable, values have become established in the minds and behaviors of men. The values of each American community are generally in agreement with and support those of each other community. And as our American values grew out of many experiences undergirded by universal values, many democratic values and universal values reciprocally reinforce each other.

Values, for the purposes of this chapter, can be thought of as objectives in the sense that they are ideal goals. In this context, some values will be apparently universal (as is the Golden Rule), and some values will be common within great systems of socio-political thought (like the tenets of democracy). It is with (a) those values that are apparently universal throughout human society and (b) those common to the free world of democracy that we are immediately concerned here.

As teachers, we have the responsibility to understand the values of our several communities, values which give direction to our pupils whenever they must make a choice or solve a problem. As teachers, we also have an obligation to help pupils develop behaviors that realize value-choices based on man's highest ideals. To write of values in terms of the curriculum is difficult, for values are abstract and highly elusive. Values always belong in a context of experience and are rightly bound to processes of action. Stated and taught in isolation, value instruction lacks the proper psychological conditions of pupil interest and experience. However, values clearly stated provide the curriculum-maker with goals that "ought" to be striven for in any teaching-learning situation.

Again we say we do not wish to fall into the error of implying that *verbal* values and *behavioral* values are always the same; there is often discrepancy between the values one asserts and those one acts upon. There is also a tremendous difference between stating

values as objectives in a curriculum design and helping pupils to have experiences in which these values are intrinsic and from which they become consciously understood and accepted by the learner. Bridging the gap between understanding and behavior, however, is largely a matter of method and must receive extensive treatment elsewhere.¹⁵

The values of democracy have received extensive treatment in educational literature. In fact, every major American educator has given consideration to these values, as have our professional organizations. The Educational Policies Commission¹⁶ and the American Association of School Administrators¹⁷ have clearly set forth the relationship between school practices and the moral and spiritual values of democracy.

In the volume *Moral and Spiritual Values in the Public Schools*, the Educational Policies Commission lists one value as basic to nine other values:

The basic moral and spiritual value in American life is the supreme importance of the individual personality.

If the individual personality is supreme, each person should feel responsible for the consequences of his own conduct.

If the individual personality is supreme, institutional arrangements are the servants of mankind.

If the individual personality is supreme, mutual consent is better than violence.

15. F. Theodore Perkins, "Research Relating to the Problem of Values," *California Journal of Elementary Education*, XXIII (May, 1955), 223-24. This issue of the *Journal* and the one preceding it (February, 1955) are devoted entirely to a consideration of values. Also see: Lawrence G. Thomas, "Educational Research in Values," *California Journal of Educational Research*, VII (March, 1956), 51-56.

16. Educational Policies Commission, *The Purposes of Education in American Democracy* (1938), *Education for All American Youth* (1944), *Education for All American Children* (1948), and *Moral and Spiritual Values in the Public Schools* (1951). All published: Washington: Educational Policies Commission, National Education Association, and the American Association of School Administrators.

17. "The Ideals We Live By," *Educating for American Citizenship*, pp. 51-66. Thirty-second Yearbook of the American Association of School Administrators. Washington: American Association of School Administrators, 1954.

If the individual personality is supreme, the human mind should be liberated by access to information and opinion.

If the individual personality is supreme, excellence in mind, character, and creative ability should be fostered.

If the individual personality is supreme, all persons should be judged by the same moral standards.

If the individual personality is supreme, the concept of brotherhood should take precedence over selfish interests.

If the individual personality is supreme, each person should have the greatest possible opportunity for the pursuit of happiness, provided only that such activities do not substantially interfere with the similar opportunities of others.

If the individual personality is supreme, each person should be offered the emotional and spiritual experiences which transcend the materialistic aspects of life.¹⁸

The sources quoted to this point are by nature and definition most acceptable to the United States as a national community and to all component communities within the national community. But we live in an expanding world-setting, and the social-studies program must give attention to those world-held values that are consistent with democratic ethics. As Lewis Browne has said, "What we need is a keener awareness of the kinship between all religions, and nowhere is this kinship so marked as on the ethical level. Men may differ grossly in what and how they worship but not in why and how they believe they should behave."¹⁹ The Golden Rule, for instance, has been found to have the same meaning in all major religions. This is a major ethical value; one that deserves highest place among the citizenship objectives of the social studies. As Browne says, "Witness . . .

BRAHMANISM: "Do naught unto others which would cause you pain if done to you." Mahabharata, 5: 1517.

BUDDHISM: "Hurt not others in ways that you yourself would find hurtful." Udana-Varga, 5: 18.

18. *Moral and Spiritual Values in the Public Schools*, pp. 18 ff. Washington: Educational Policies Commission, National Education Association, and American Association of School Administrators, 1951.

19. Lewis Browne, *The World's Great Scriptures*, p. xv. New York: Macmillan Co., 1946.

CONFUCIANISM: "Do not unto others what you would not have them do unto you." *Analects*, 15: 23.

TAOISM: "Regard your neighbor's gain as your own gain, and your neighbor's loss as your own loss." T'ai Shang Kan Ying P'ien.

ZOROASTRIANISM: "That nature alone is good which refrains from doing unto another whatsoever is not good for itself." *Dadistan-i-dinik*, 94: 5.

JUDAISM: "What is hateful to you, do not to your fellowman." *Talmud*, Shabbat 31a.

CHRISTIANITY: "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." *Matthew*, 7: 12.

ISLAM: "No one of you is a believer until he desires for his brother that which he desires for himself." *Sunnah*.²⁰

An example of recent research on such values apparently common to most of mankind is that by Virginia Woods, who sought to find a "common core of basic beliefs upon which all major denominations and religions agree."²¹ Woods selected a common core of moral and spiritual values from the literature of six major world religions. Each list of items making up this "common core" was found stated in equivalent terms within each religious group's literature. For example:

CHRISTIANITY: "As a man sows so shall he also reap." *Galatians*, 6: 7.

JUDAISM: "Sow to yourself in righteousness till the Lord come and gain righteousness upon you. If ye have plowed wickedness, ye have reaped iniquity." *Hosea*, 10: 12.

MOHAMMEDANISM: "Shall ye be recompensed but as ye have wrought?" 1: 1306.

HINDUISM: "A man reaps that at that age at which he had sowed it at a previous birth." 1: 122.

BUDDHISM: "There is fruit and results of deeds well done and ill done." 1: 292.

CONFUCIANISM: "He who loves and respects others is constantly loved and respected by them." 1: 449.²²

20. *Ibid.*, p. xv.

21. Virginia Newhall Woods, "Spiritual and Moral Education in the Public School Curriculum," p. 22. Unpublished Ed.D. thesis, Stanford University, 1950.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 94-95. Woods quotes Robert Ballou, *The Bibles of the World* (New York: Viking Press, 1939), for four of these examples. We have reproduced her bibliographic style in this instance—1:1306 means p. 1306 in Ballou.

Twelve such lists of items—each from the Christian religion but supported in meaning by five other religions—were presented to forty-seven religious leaders representing all major denominational groups in the United States. Each list of items represented a value or values that might be used as objectives in public schools. The nine lists of items meeting with unanimous approval by all forty-seven evaluators were:

*A Proposed Common Core of Spiritual and Moral Values
for Public School Use*

A. The Ten Commandments

1. Thou shalt have no other gods before me.
2. Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image.
3. Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain.
4. Remember the sabbath day to keep it holy.
5. Honor thy father and thy mother.
6. Thou shalt not kill.
7. Thou shalt not commit adultery.
8. Thou shalt not steal.
9. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor.
10. Thou shalt not covet.

Exodus 20: 3-17

B. The Two Commandments

1. Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul and with all thy strength and with all thy mind;
2. and thy neighbour as thyself.

Luke 10: 27

C. The Golden Rule

All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.

Matthew 7: 12

D. The Beatitudes

1. Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.
2. Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted.
3. Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth.
4. Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled.
5. Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy.
6. Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.
7. Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God.

8. Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

Matthew 5: 3-10

E. A Prophet's Requirements

What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?

Micah 6: 8

F. The Fruits of the Spirit

But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, fondness, faith, meekness, temperance.

Galatians 5: 22

G. For Meditation

Finally brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report, if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things.

Philippians 4: 8

H. For whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap.

Galatians 6: 7

- I. For what shall it profit a man if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul?

Mark 8: 36²³

Such value statements as were reproduced above from the Educational Policies Commission's *Moral and Spiritual Values in the Public Schools*, from Browne's *The World's Great Scriptures*, and from Wood's research furnish the educator with objectives of primary importance. These values, common to all ethical systems of the free world, must find their place within the design of the social-studies curriculum. The moral behavior for which these values stand must then develop out of the guided experiences of the elementary school—and the social-studies program must contribute positively to such citizenship development.

6. A COMPREHENSIVE SEARCH FOR GENERALIZATIONS

Several educators in the San Francisco Bay area—among them curriculum co-ordinators, general consultants, principals, and college instructors—furnish us with our sixth and final illustration of drawing social-studies content from the social sciences. Banded together

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 121-22.

as a research team of advanced graduate students, these men elected to work on a problem of concern to their teachers and school systems.²⁴ They realized that as individuals they could not satisfactorily solve the vast problem of selecting and organizing social-studies content; but as a research team, their co-operative effort could make possible a comprehensive investigation of generalizations in a number of social-science disciplines.

The problematic situation, as they saw it, rested on three factors: (a) teachers should be expected to know and understand the field in which they teach; (b) scholarship constantly advances the boundaries of knowledge; and (c) teachers in the elementary school, chiefly concerned with the general education of children and thus dealing with several subject fields at once, have neither the energy nor the time to follow all scholarly publications. For these reasons, teachers and other curriculum-makers should find a synthesizing investigation of generalizations and values of the social sciences of practical and conceptual value.

Working from the same rationale and using the same procedures, all members of this research team are identifying and extracting social-science generalizations which will then be organized for use in an elementary-school social-studies program. The literature used in this project was selected by specialists in the social-science disciplines and consists of a bibliography of approximately one hundred books. This bibliography is probably the most extensive yet used in any analysis of generalizations from the social sciences.

The purposes stated by this research team as basic to their studies are the selection and organization of generalizations in such form that: (a) a portion of our expanding social heritage recorded by social-science disciplines will be made available to many edu-

24. The following students are currently engaged in this co-operative research project: Clay Andrews, assistant professor, San Jose State College; Harold Emmerson, supervisor of student teachers, Stanford University; John Lee, administrative assistant, Palo Alto Unified School District; Jack Rambeau, general consultant, Sonoma County Schools; George Rusteika, curriculum coordinator, Alameda County Schools; and, Vinton Stratton, elementary-school principal, San Jose. Further information on their investigations will be available from Cubberley Library, School of Education, Stanford University, Stanford, California.

cators who otherwise might not readily have such sources at hand; (b) teachers and other personnel responsible for curriculum-making in the social studies can use the data as "anticipated outcomes" in planning experiences from which pupils may induce generalizations affecting them as youthful citizens; and, (c) school systems and other research groups may test a currently accepted social-studies curriculum pattern for its suitability and modify that pattern on the basis of the empirical consequences of experimentation and observation.

No report on the data is possible here, for these studies are under way as this chapter is being written and will not be completed until after this volume has been published. It is to be expected, however, if this team research is as fruitful as its antecedent study by Douglass, that educators will have available in an organized structure the most comprehensive single source of generalizations yet produced by educational research.

Design of the Social-Studies Program

It is the writer's belief that some pattern or design is essential for the social-studies program. Without a design, there is no possible way of assuring the society which supports schools that our children will acquire the wealth of generalizations and values considered basic to citizenship understanding and behavior.

Elsewhere in this volume the problem of design is treated at length. All we care to say here is that it is possible and feasible to construct a social-studies design. A three-dimensional design can be made by using:

1. The *basic human activities* as the co-ordinates for the scope or vertical components. Nine activities that provide a comprehensive check list for planning experiences are: protecting and conserving life, health, resources, and property; producing, distributing, and consuming food, clothing, shelter, and other consumer goods and services; creating and producing tools and technics; transporting people and goods; communicating ideas and feelings; providing education; providing recreation; organizing and governing; expressing aesthetic and spiritual impulses.
2. The *expanding communities* can be used as the horizontal components and assigned to the grades as emphases to be taken up sequentially from kindergarten to the eighth grade.

3. The *generalizations* and *values* discussed in this chapter can be used as the third dimension of our design and the specifics applied wherever one of the basic human activities and one of the communities meet.

To illustrate:²⁵ If we assign the *neighborhood community* to Grade II as the social-studies emphasis, then the scope of the work for that grade would include all of the *basic human activities* that are carried on by neighbors within the arena we call our neighborhood community. Further, the third dimension, *generalizations and values* about these activities in this arena would suggest to the teacher the nature and range of objectives she and the pupils should strive to acquire.

25. Paul R. Hanna, "Social Studies for Today," *National Education Association Journal*, XLV (January, 1956), 36-38.

CHAPTER III

Current Social Trends and Their Implications for the Social-Studies Program

STANLEY E. DIMOND

Factors Conditioning Social-Studies Teaching

The social studies in the elementary school have a dual focus: (a) the individual and (b) the society. The immaturity of the child in the elementary school is a conditioning factor for any teacher of the social studies. The nature of the individual's growth and development, consequently, determines much of what we teach, when we teach, and how we teach. Teaching the social studies in the elementary school requires serious consideration of the growth processes of children.

The society in which these children live and grow, however, is also a conditioning factor for any teacher of the social studies. The child reared in a simple agricultural economy requires a curriculum adapted to different social needs from those of a child reared in a complex interdependent industrial society. Growing up in an urban, industrial community requires a long process of social education that, to a large extent, is centered in the social studies. Or, to use another illustration of the effect of society on social-studies instruction, the child reared in a totalitarian society gets a quite different type of instruction in social studies from that provided for the child reared in a democratic society.

This duality of social-studies teaching has been emphasized by Sand in his analysis of the ten required tasks for improving the social-studies curriculum. The first two tasks he discusses are: *Task 1*—Study children and youth; *Task 2*—Study contemporary society.¹

1. Ole Sand, "Tasks To Be Done in Improving the Social-Studies Curriculum," *Improving the Social-Studies Curriculum*, pp. 238-39. Twenty-sixth Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies. Washington: National Council for the Social Studies, 1955.

At an earlier period, the Commission on the Social Studies Curriculum of the Department of Superintendence noted similarly that the nature of society and the nature of the learner were two of the major factors conditioning the social studies.²

Although these two factors interact rather than operate in isolation, for purposes of analysis they are treated separately in this yearbook. This chapter is concerned with society; the next chapter discusses the individual learner.

The Importance of Social-Trend Analysis

THE BACKGROUND

The study of society and the analysis of social trends is a task to which educators have given attention for a long time. Curriculum-workers, particularly those concerned with the social studies, have devoted major attention to social-trend analysis.

A major influence was the publication, a quarter of a century ago, of *Recent Social Trends* by a committee of distinguished scholars appointed by the President of the United States.³ This comprehensive report with its authoritative presentation of the facts of social change focused attention during the depression years on the impact of social forces. Educators were alert to these changes. Superintendents, teachers, and curriculum-leaders devoted much attention to ways in which schools should adjust to these changes.

As the rise of dictators in Europe, a few years later, underlined the impact of social forces on education, Bode, in *Progressive Education at the Crossroads*, highlighted the dangers to education of failure to recognize the nature of world events. With a world disaster impending, he called attention to the provincialism of "the notion that educational needs can be determined by studying the individual" ⁴ His denial of this doctrine as the chief basis for

2. *The Social-Studies Curriculum*, p. 9. Fourteenth Yearbook of the Department of Superintendence. Washington: Department of Superintendence, National Education Association, 1936.

3. President's Research Committee on Social Trends, *Recent Social Trends in the United States*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933.

4. Boyd H. Bode, *Progressive Education at the Crossroads*, p. 67. New York: Newsom & Co., 1938.

determining educational objectives caused increased searching for the proper relation of education and social change.

Other writers contributed to this movement. Counts had placed emphasis on schools building a new social order. Marshall analyzed social processes. The Lynds made their studies of *Middletown*. W. L. Warner and his associates added their descriptions of the class structure in America. Individual curriculum-writers and year-book commissions of the educational organizations were stressing the fundamental importance of understanding social change if educational programs were to be effective.

Over a period of years, the examination of social change was a tremendous force in influencing thought concerning our schools. Of the many aspects of our educational programs it was natural for the social studies to be directly influenced by such study of social trends.

THE PRESENT SITUATION

The effects of the long process of social-trend analysis on the social-studies program today are difficult to assess. After a generation of educators have studied social trends, how influential has this approach been? At present there are five common criticisms of the effects of this concern of educators about the impact of social conditions on schools.

1. *Analysis of social trends neglects fundamental values, and teaching becomes too contemporaneous.* Some who view the schools today are fearful that teachers have become so concerned about the present that they are neglecting eternal verities and virtues. These critics would have schools stress the lessons of the past. They fear the "cult of the contemporaneous." They protest against "presentism." They argue that "what is contemporary today is gone tomorrow." They think of "education for a changing world" as an overworked cliché.⁵

2. *Present-day life changes too rapidly. Basing education on predictions about the future is too great a gamble.* Some who have tried to keep abreast of social change become overwhelmed by the terrific pace of change. Classroom teachers become appalled by the fantastic claims about the future. They argue that one might just

5. See for example: William Lee Miller, "The Wastelands Revisited," *Reporter*, XIII (October 6, 1955), 20-25.

as well read the phantasies of science fiction and that these imaginative writings do not provide an appropriate foundation for developing the school curriculum. They are especially wary of the predictions about the future and cite as evidence of the errors of prediction the inaccuracies of the population studies of the 1930's.

3. *Study of social change neglects the changes in the local community.* Some leaders become concerned that trends as reported are based primarily on national or world conditions. Teaching, they say, occurs in a local community where the impact of social change is difficult to assess at a given moment. They point out that local facts on which to base sound judgments are difficult, if not impossible, to obtain. To these critics the study of social trends is an academic exercise remote from the actual community.

4. *No analysis or classification is completely satisfactory.* Some teachers and curriculum committees have expressed difficulty in finding an analysis or classification scheme which adequately summarizes available data about social trends. These groups have spent considerable time searching out the facts of social change, but have been frustrated by their own inability to get at the facts in a systematic manner. They express concern that their ventures in this direction may be inadequate and not substantial enough to use for sound programs of curriculum change.

5. *The implications of social change are beyond the interest and experience of elementary-school children.* Some contend that social-trend analysis is a fine thing for the secondary-school and college teachers but that it is not necessary for those concerned with the elementary-school curriculum. Young children, it is argued, will acquire the newer ideas resulting from social change as a natural part of growing up, and teachers of these children need not be unduly concerned about the changing nature of our society. After all, they say, the elementary-school child is neither interested in nor able to deal with the facts of social change.

There is some truth in each of these criticisms. It is conceivable that schools might deal too greatly with contemporary life, that predictions about the future may be in error, that changes in local communities may be neglected, that analysis of change is difficult, and that selecting content by social-trend analysis might result in getting beyond the interest and maturity of children. These criti-

cisms, however, are more in the nature of danger signals. They do not support the conclusion that teachers concerned with the social studies should *not* give serious consideration to the changing nature of the society in which we live. The contrary is true. Teaching the social studies in elementary schools requires careful study and analysis of the changing nature of contemporary society.

THE PURPOSE OF SOCIAL-TREND ANALYSIS

Social-trend analysis makes four definite contributions to teaching the social studies in the elementary school.

1. *Objectives are initiated and verified.* Objectives must be chosen wisely. Modern life is exceedingly complex. Social change is being accelerated. Knowledge has accumulated in vast array. Out of this intricate fabric of modern life someone must choose what is to be taught, and his reasons must be grounded in substantial data. It is necessary to gear educational efforts to the crucial aspects of contemporary life. As Tyler has pointed out, "Many sociologists and others concerned with the pressing problems of contemporary society see in an analysis of contemporary society the basic information from which educational objectives can be derived."⁶

The study of society, it should be noted, is only *one* source of educational objectives. It is not intended to be the exclusive source. The needs and interests of the learner, the cultural heritage, and philosophical values are also important sources for objectives. At the same time, analysis of society is *one* of the fruitful avenues for deriving objectives.

2. *The neglect of important content areas is avoided.* The analysis of social trends does *not* produce a body of facts, concepts, or understandings that can be used as the basis of the content to be taught in the elementary-school social-studies class. Rather, such an analysis provides a check against the current body of content that is now taught in the elementary-school social-studies curriculum. The student of social-trend analysis pertinently asks, "Is what you are currently teaching accurate? Is it of value?"

6. Ralph W. Tyler, *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction*, p. 4. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950.

An example illustrates the process. The traditional elementary-school class has been taught that the United States is a land of great abundance, with unlimited natural resources. As will be pointed out later in this chapter, war and modern industries use up raw materials so rapidly that there are real dangers that our country, in the lifetime of the child now in the elementary school, may be a land of limited resources. In teaching social studies, at some point in the teaching-learning process, the elementary-school teacher must acquaint students with the present situation concerning natural resources and stimulate thinking about this critical national issue. In this teaching the analysis of current trends makes an important contribution.

3. *The interests of pupils and teachers are enlarged.* Social change, even considered on the most superficial level, exhibits the tendency for enlarging pupil and teacher interest. There is scarcely an elementary-school teacher who has not come to realize that pupils in a class may know more about airplanes, or guided missiles, or television than he does. Changes in transportation and communication have been prolific in enlarging interests both in scientific and social phenomena. To a less observable degree, this is equally true of other social changes. Many teachers, for example, are aware of the increased experiences within a class when pupils have lived in more than one community. While the transiency of our population has created many problems, it has also contributed to an enlarged area of pupil interest.

The careful analysis of social trends helps to reveal to teachers other ways in which such changes contribute to new and more varied interests of children.

4. *Variety in method is encouraged.* The analysis of social trends provides one more educative lever to help teachers become really creative teachers. The teacher, after careful study of the changes occurring in modern life, tends to be more receptive to the use of varied methods. The emotional strains of modern living—as reflected in mental-health statistics—the ways of living in different social classes, the effects of automation on the factory-worker, the influence of machinery on farm life create an understanding of what growing up in modern society is like. As this knowledge about the impact of our culture on children changes attitudes,

teachers tend to make greater use of teaching procedures that will alleviate and counteract the pressures of modern society. Group activity, the social climate of the room, the use of many sources for information—books, people, excursions, visual aids—and unit types of organization are seen as important tools. More teachers see their role in the elementary school as supportive. They become less the taskmaster and more the teacher.

THE FUTURE

The continued study of social trends as a part of the process of improving the teaching of social studies in the elementary school is necessary because we are living in one of the great periods of social, economic, and technological change. Scientists and engineers are serving grim notice that life is not static but ever changing. International statesmen search for peace while they warn us of the newest destructive weapon. The gulf between the school and the world widens because of the changes that take place in modern life.

If social-studies teaching is not to be divorced from the realities of living, continued analysis of social trends is a necessity. Ragan has stated the case for this type of continued study clearly:

The needs of children can be fully understood only as they are studied in relation to the conditions and values of the society in which children live. Child development does not take place in a vacuum; the culture is the sustaining environment of human personality, in the same sense that soil, air, and water are necessary for plant growth. . . .

Any program for improving the elementary-school curriculum must include an analysis of the problems of living in our times.⁷

Current Social Trends: An Operative Framework

The analysis of social trends for use by teachers requires some type of framework or scheme of operation. Curriculum committees engaged in this type of activity have found it advisable to: (a) have access to authoritative sources of information, (b) make use of some classification scheme for recording data, and (c) suggest learning experiences that emerge from the analysis.

An excellent example of this process in operation was the work of the Wisconsin Co-operative Educational Planning Program. A

7. William B. Ragan, *Modern Elementary Curriculum*, p. 74. New York: Dryden Press, 1953.

sub-committee based on research in the social sciences studied the characteristics of group life and American social institutions. From this study they developed a chart organized around nine major functions or goals of a democratic society.⁸ These goals they listed as:

1. To keep the population healthy.
2. To provide physical protection and guarantees against war.
3. To conserve and wisely utilize natural resources.
4. To provide opportunity for people to make a living.
5. To rear and educate the young.
6. To provide wholesome and adequate recreation.
7. To enable the population to satisfy aesthetic and spiritual values.
8. To provide sufficient social cement to guarantee social integration.
9. To organize and govern in harmony with beliefs and aspirations.

These goals were stated and analyzed in one column of a fifty-page chart. Pupil needs—defined as what things the pupil must believe, know, do, and experience for the preservation and enrichment of a goal—were stated in a second column. A third column analyzed what the school could do with reference to these needs. One illustration from the numerous ones of the chart will show the methods:

I	II	III
<i>The Situation We Confront</i>	<i>What the Pupil Needs</i>	<i>What the School Can Do</i>
America must conserve and wisely utilize and replace its natural resources.	To recognize wasteful practices in his own community.	Provide opportunity for pupils to meet with farmers, lumbermen, park commissioners, and others in order that they may find out first-hand the importance of resources to human welfare and also to learn what can and should be done for their wiser use and replacement. ⁹

8. Curriculum Guiding Committee, Wisconsin Co-operative Educational Planning Program, *Guides to Curriculum Building—Junior High School Level*, pp. 74-131. Madison, Wisconsin: State of Wisconsin, 1950.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 94.

Other curriculum groups have pursued a similar process in less detail, but they have been equally concerned with the nature of social change and with the implications for the school.¹⁰ The balance of this chapter is devoted to a summary of current social trends based on this type of analysis.

WORLD POLITICAL TRENDS

The Ideological Struggle. The struggle between democracy and totalitarianism is the great social issue of our times. Man's liberty is once again in danger of being destroyed. Free institutions as we have cherished them are again going through one of their great testing periods. The Educational Policies Commission has stated:

Recent decades have witnessed the rise of sustained and powerful challenges to the principle of freedom, equality, and self-government. Not a few of these challenges derive from the vast transformation in American life brought about by science and technology, by industrial, agricultural, and commercial revolutions. . . . More recently the most powerful attacks have come from totalitarian ideologies which proclaim the necessity of total state regulation. . . . Totalitarian arguments, either Fascist or Communist, are opposed to freedom, equality, and self-government.¹¹

This struggle between democracy and dictatorship has been a central concern of schools for approximately twenty-five years. Not that American schools have not always been concerned about freedom and self-government. They have. But with the growing power of Hitler, Mussolini, and Stalin in the 1930's, leaders in education saw the struggle in new perspective. They realized that the unique role which our forefathers saw for the public school, as the great training-ground for citizens of a free government, would be tested in the lives of the present generation.

The response of educators to these challenges to our way of life has gone through an evolution in the past quarter-century with

10. For example, see: "Curriculum Planning: Kindergarten through Grade Fourteen," pp. 130-54. Dearborn, Michigan: Dearborn Public Schools, 1952 (mimeographed).

11. *Public Education and the Future of America*, pp. 6-7. Washington: Educational Policies Commission, National Education Association, and the American Association of School Administrators, 1955.

three stages. There was a period of exhortation to teach democracy. These exhortations resulted in an increased use of symbolic and emotionalized teachings in the schools. The Pledge of Allegiance, the Flag Salute, and the National Anthem, for example, received greater stress. There then followed a period which emphasized the use of intelligence. Understanding the meaning of democracy, critical thinking, and problem-solving became key concepts. In the third stage "participation" gained the center of attention. Democratic living, student government, group planning, and civic action were featured. In any given school these efforts to teach democracy have not been separated nor have they always followed this particular sequence. But each has had its period of central attention (see chap. ix).

War and the Threats of War. The struggle between democracy and totalitarianism is more than a struggle for men's minds, however. It is a day-to-day conflict which may erupt into another "big" war—as for the past ten years there have been nibbling "wars" in various parts of the world. The Berlin Airlift, the Korean War, the invasion of Indo-China, the protection of Formosa, the Arab-Israeli disputes are episodes in this prolonged campaign.

The effects of this war atmosphere take many forms. For one thing governments are geared to the "warfare state." High taxes are necessary to pay for large expenditures for defense. The national security expenditures of the United States federal government, for example, are 51 per cent of the total 1957 budget.

Another aspect of the threat of war is the change that has occurred in the life plans of youth. Because of the military manpower needs of the United States, Congress has required that all young men be prepared to spend six years in the military services—either in active service or in the military reserve. This is a new fact of American life. Never before has an entire generation had to think in terms of military service. Never before have we had such a large percentage of our population who have experienced military service.

The development of atomic bombs and H-bombs brings fear of total destruction of civilization. The possibility of long-continued stalemate, because each side now possesses these powerful weapons,

is constantly balanced against the chance that one foolish act may result in devastation by nuclear warfare.

Another effect of past wars and the current threats has been to move the United States into a position of world leadership. As England in the past century held the keystone position in world affairs, our country has now been catapulted into world leadership. Lacking experience and trained leadership, we have, nevertheless, become the leader of the democratic coalition with the resulting responsibilities.

The United Nations continues to be the one international organization providing a common meeting place for the conflicting forces in the world today. While critics have not destroyed the faith of the American people in the United Nations, there is a realistic appraisal of the work of the United Nations. The admission of the sixteen new members in 1955 gave indication that the small, undeveloped nations of the world may come to have a greater voice and may perhaps control the balance of power in the United Nations.

Educational Implications. The implications for teaching elementary-school social studies resulting from the democratic-totalitarian conflict are numerous. Developing an understanding of the meaning of our democratic way of life needs to continue as a major objective. The use of emotional, intellectual, and pupil-participation approaches all have merit and need to be employed in some balanced relationship. Democracy should not be just a vague generality; basic elements such as liberty, concern for the general welfare, respect for the individual, and majority-rule operating within a framework of respect for minority rights need to emerge as basic understandings as children mature. This means that children have chances to make decisions, that individual differences are respected, and that the virtues and weaknesses of competition and co-operation are recognized in planning social-studies experiences. Group activity is an essential part of method, but there must be ample opportunity for individual creativity. Locating and assembling information as part of the problem-solving process should expand with the maturity of pupils. Giving consideration to varied points of view needs to be practiced. The role of the teacher with the class is to provide first-hand experiences in democratic living by being authoritative rather than authoritarian.

Communism needs to be studied. Comparison and contrasts of the United States and Russia need to be undertaken. By knowing thoroughly the communistic system, children can appreciate better our own heritage of freedom.

There needs to be steady emphasis on life's enduring values: kindness, consideration, helpfulness, brotherly love. Daily illustration of these values in the classroom plus talking and reading about them from current happenings will do much to counteract the deterioration of values that can accompany the aggressions of a society immersed in a war atmosphere.

The United Nations and other examples of international co-operation can be kept constantly before children. Specialized agencies, such as UNESCO or World Health Organization, frequently provide a good approach to a better understanding of world relations (see chap. x). Young children need to appreciate not only the power of national government but the hopes and possibilities of international organizations. Yet a "peace-at-any-price generation" would not serve mankind well. The virtues of defending what one believes warrant an important place in social-studies instruction.

And what should be taught about war itself? George Counts has advocated:

The young should be given a realistic understanding through the generous use of moving pictures of the meaning of total war as waged from 1939 to 1945—the sinking of ocean liners, the bombing of cities, the slaughter of armies, the massacre of peoples, the enslavement of labor, the torture of prisoners, and the explosion of atomic bombs that vaporize steel and turn sand into green glass. In so far as the techniques of instruction make possible, nothing of the horror and the tragedy of war as already waged should be left to the imagination.¹²

Should such realistic teaching be done? At what ages? Is this a task for the elementary or the secondary school? What would be the effects of such teaching? The mental hygienist cautions against overstimulation. By the end of the sixth grade, children have encountered much of the reality of war through television or

¹². George Counts, *Education and American Civilization*, p. 416. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1952.

other media. The elementary-school teacher bears some responsibility for getting the nature of war into a balanced setting. Does this mean adding the soldier to our list of community helpers? Does it mean teaching a unit in the middle grades on the nature of war? Teachers usually answer "No" to these questions, but curriculum committees in elementary schools need to examine such questions. The world-wide ideological struggle cannot be avoided in the elementary school. If war is to occupy a central part in our lives, elementary schools must lay a foundation by which young children can understand the issues and the effects of war.

ECONOMIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL TRENDS

The Status of Raw Materials in the United States. The economy of the United States is geared to the use of enormous quantities of raw materials. For many years we have believed that our resources were inexhaustible, but World War II, followed by a period of great prosperity, has brought the realization that this condition may no longer be true.

The Defense Production Administrator during the Korean War wrote:

Partly as a result of the depletion of our natural resources and partly as a result of the changing technology and scale of military and industrial production, we have become to a considerable extent a "have not" nation. A recent report of the United States Bureau of Mines indicates that out of 38 important industrial minerals, we are self-sufficient in only 9. For another 20, domestic production provides less than 60 per cent of our requirements. For 7 of these 20 minerals, we are dependent on other countries for just about 100 per cent of our needs.¹³

The President's Materials Policy Commission in a five-volume report on the shrinkage of America's natural resources recommended a thorough search, at home and abroad, for sources of materials. The commission reported that the United States is already unable to supply its own needs and by 1975 may be compelled to import one-fifth of the material it consumes. In the face of foreseeable demand, the conclusion was reached that the depletion of raw ma-

13. Manly Fleischmann, "An International Raw-Materials Policy," *Foreign Policy Bulletin*, XXXI (March 15, 1952), 2.

terials is a definite threat to the nation's living standards and national security.¹⁴

In contrast to this bleak picture, Eugene Holman, President of Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, holds to a thesis of unlimited raw materials. He believes that increasing knowledge operates in numerous ways to expand the natural resources available to us. Scientific progress, he contends, has continuously found new material resources and will continue to do so. His view is:

For many years, I believe, people have tended to think of natural resources as so many stacks of raw material piled up in a storehouse. A person with this sort of picture in his mind logically assumes that the more you use of any natural resource, the sooner you get to the bottom of the pile. Now I think we are beginning to discover that the idea of a storehouse—or, at least, a single-room storehouse—does not correspond with reality. Instead, the fact seems to be that the first storehouse in which man found himself was only one of a series. As he used up what was piled in that first room, he found he could fashion a key to open a door into a much larger room. And as he used the contents of this larger room, he discovered there was another room beyond, larger still.¹⁵

His expectation is that science will find new resources or new processes as they are needed.

Which of these views is correct? One holds that our raw materials are dangerously near depletion; the other, that science will provide us with unlimited resources. Great questions of national policy depend upon which view the American people decide is correct. The conservation movement has been handicapped by a willingness to gamble on future miracles by the scientists. Wise use of resources plus strategic stockpiling of essential raw materials seems to be basic national policy today. Drucker believes that "we will come to the new experience of a raw-materials shortage—becoming for the first time a 'have not' nation."¹⁶

Power Resources. For generations human brawn supplied the energy to do man's work. But as Dewhurst points out: "The

14. President's Materials Policy Commission, *Resources for Freedom*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1952.

15. Eugene Holman, "Our Inexhaustible Resources," *Atlantic Monthly*, CLXXXIX (June, 1952), 32.

16. Peter F. Drucker, "America's Next Twenty Years," *Harper's Magazine*, CCX (June, 1955), 58.

nineteenth was the century of coal, the steam engine, and the horse. The twentieth has been the century of electricity, petroleum, and the automotive vehicle."¹⁷

Two dramatic examples of the effects of energy uses are cited by Fenton Turck:

Americans increased their annual use of electric energy more between 1940 and 1950 than in the entire previous time since electric power has been installed in America. . . .

In a steel plant, it takes 5 hours to anneal a ton of strip steel—instead of 120; in a textile plant, an electronic device checks dye color in 2½ minutes instead of 1½ hours.¹⁸

These effects of the use of power are perhaps part of our common knowledge. Not so well known are the shifts that have taken place in the sources of energy as shown in the following table:

UNITED STATES ENERGY SOURCES *

Source of Energy	1900	1925	1950
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Coal	92	71	43
Natural gas	4	8	19
Oil	4	21	36
Water	—	—	2
Total	100	100	100

* Adapted from the President's Materials Policy Commission, *Resources for Freedom*, III, 106. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1952.

Since most of these energy sources were converted into electrical energy, it may be of interest to note that, in 1950, 26 per cent of electrical energy produced in the United States came from water power while 74 per cent came from coal, gas, and oil.¹⁹ Electrical energy output increased 318 per cent from 1939 to 1954.²⁰

Atomic energy is now with us. At this writing, it is impossible

17. J. Frederic Dewhurst and Associates, *America's Needs and Resources*, p. 856. New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1955.

18. Fenton Turck, "American Explosion," *Scientific Monthly*, LXXV (September, 1952), 187-88.

19. President's Materials Policy Commission, *op. cit.*, III, p. 33.

20. The National Industrial Conference Board, *Road Maps of Industry*, No. 1045. New York: National Industrial Conference Board, January 6, 1956.

to predict how rapidly atomic energy will be available for industrial use. The President's Materials Policies Commission estimated that by 1975 atomic energy would supply slightly more energy than coal, gas, oil, and water power combined. It is probable that the peacetime uses of atomic energy have been developed more rapidly than was contemplated at the time of that report. It appears that in the foreseeable future a power resource greater than man has ever known will be available to modern technology. The general prediction is that atomic energy will be in addition to and not a replacement for the present energy sources.

Economic Controls. The development of atomic energy has once again dramatized the issue of control of these gigantic economic resources. There seems little doubt that those who control atomic energy may in the future actually have the power to determine the destiny of the economic system. Atomic research and development began as a government enterprise for a war emergency. As peacetime uses have been permitted, private business has gradually been granted more atomic information. At present, it seems likely the future development of atomic energy will follow the pattern employed with other energy sources. This is a pattern of private ownership through public utilities with governmental regulation. Is this the pattern desired by the American people?

The American people in their ideological struggle with communism and by their traditional attitudes are committed to a free enterprise system. But this system is no longer a system of small, free, independent businessmen. While individual enterprise has not disappeared, the corporation has taken over the dominant role in our economic system. As described by Smith, Stanley, and Shores:

These great companies are, of course, private in the sense that they are nongovernmental and are managed for private ends. But it is obvious that in no sense are they individual enterprises. On the contrary, they are giant economic units, embracing collective efforts and accomplishing ends which individual enterprise would be powerless to achieve. They have developed a concentration of economic power which can compete on almost equal terms with the political power of the state.²¹

21. B. Othanel Smith, William O. Stanley, and J. Harlan Shores, *Fundamentals of Curriculum Development*, p. 69. Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York: World Book Co., 1950.

The successful operation of the gigantic business corporation has required the development of a new science of management which may eventually become a profession. The highly trained and expert manager appears necessary for the co-ordination of the workers, the technology, the raw materials, and the financing of modern industry. The ease with which some managers have moved from one highly complex industry to another has demonstrated that management itself makes a unique contribution to our economic system.

The growth of pension funds, banking, and investment trusts has introduced another relatively new factor into the economy—the fiduciary investor. These financial groups are the trustees of other people's money. As investors in American corporate business they now own "almost one-third of all the marketable shares of American business."²²

The trend toward bigness is not unique to business enterprise, however. It is also true of labor unions and farming. Labor-union membership was about three million in 1935. Today it is estimated to be about eighteen million, with the unified AFL-CIO having a membership of about sixteen million members.

The size of farms has been increasing, and the number of farmers has been decreasing. In 1940 the typical farm contained 174 acres; by 1950 the size was 215 acres.²³ In 1929 there were 5,566,000 active farm proprietors, but in 1952 there were only 3,967,000.²⁴ The expectation is that the trend toward larger farms and fewer owners will continue because production per man-hour increases with mechanization.

These changes in the controlling factors of our American economy point up the need for serious consideration of the part that government plays in the economic aspects of our life. Business, labor, and farm interests are active in political affairs with a resulting search for the proper role of government in its relations with economic interests.

22. Drucker, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

23. Dewhurst, *op. cit.*, p. 809.

24. The National Industrial Conference Board, *Economic Almanac, 1953-54*, p. 396. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1953.

Automation. Two Canadian physicists at the end of World War II wrote:

Nowhere is modern man more obsolete than on the factory production floor. Modern machines are far more accurate and untiring than men. Available and in use are hundreds of electronic gadgets that can do everything a workman can, and do it faster, better, and more continuously.²⁵

With such statements a new word was introduced to the American people—*automation*. Rapidly the idea gained credence that the factory of the future would be fully automatic, with workers being little more than baby-sitters to machines. Similarly, white-collar operations which required many office-workers were to be replaced by electronic machines. Before *automation* could get into the dictionaries it was becoming a reality in American business. A new Ford plant processed an engine block in 14.6 minutes which has previously taken nine hours under traditional methods.²⁶

Commenting on the trend toward automation, Stuart Chase wrote:

During the First Industrial Revolution, machines took over many forms of manual labor, so that output per man-hour doubled, trebled, went up ten-fold. In this Second Revolution, output per man-hour promises to go through the roof, and electronic brains are going to take over much work from the human mind.²⁷

This trend toward automatic procedures based on new-found knowledge of electronics raises the serious question of how men can live satisfying lives with so little time spent in remunerative work.

Transportation and Communication. Developments in transportation and communication have closely paralleled those in other economic spheres. Startling examples appear:

In 1955 the American Airlines carried 7,300,000 passengers—the

25. E. W. Leaver and J. J. Brown, "Machines without Men," *Fortune*, XLVI (November, 1946), 165.

26. "Push-Button Labor," *Fortune*, L (August, 1954), 50.

27. Stuart Chase, "Automation and Education," *NEA Journal*, XLIV (October, 1955), 393.

first time any airline has carried more than 7,000,000 people in a single year.

The fifteen billion dollars that Americans spent for television sets and maintenance from World War II to 1955 is 15 per cent more than they spent in that same time for new school and college buildings.

The future transportation developments were summarized in *America's Needs and Resources* as follows:

First will be the continued growth of private transportation through expanded automobile ownership and a nation-wide acceleration of highway improvement.

Second will be the growth of airline travel as flight safety and dependability and innovations . . . triple the volume of air traffic in the course of a decade.

Third . . . our cities . . . will awaken to the necessity for extensive capital investment for all forms of transportation.²⁸

Similar continuation of current trends is expected in the communications field. Mass communication has become the dominant factor in American life. There were 2,400 daily newspapers in 1920; 1,785 in 1954. The small independent newspaper is having a hard struggle against chain ownership or domination by the big city dailies. The syndicated columnist has become a common denominator for most papers. Television, like radio at its height, has been dominated by the big networks. But radio refused to fulfil the prediction of a slow, lingering death and has staged a comeback under the stimulus of the independent, local radio station. The danger in the trends toward common ownership and centralized distribution of news is that uniformity of ideas may result in uniformity of thinking and a loss of freedom through failure to stimulate critical minority opinion.²⁹

Educational Implications. What are the implications for elementary social-studies teaching from the economic and technological

28. Adapted from Dewhurst, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

29. Recent books that describe future implications of economic and technological trends include: Victor Cohn, 1999: *Our Hopeful Future* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1956); Morris L. Ernst, *Utopia 1976* (New York: Rinehart & Co., 1955); and David Sarnoff, *The Fabulous Future: America in 1980* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1956).

trends? One implication lies in the sources of the content for the elementary-school curriculum. The predominant role of economics in American life indicates that economic processes should have a larger place in the elementary-school content. Similarly, political life requires additional attention if the economic forces are to remain under democratic control. Needless to say this content will have to be geared to the maturity levels of the children, but this can be accomplished by relating content to such objectives as are implied in the topics: wise use of resources, interdependence, community improvement, and occupational understanding. Some teachers in the primary grades, for example, report valuable learnings in a unit on "Fathers" in which pupils talk about the work of their fathers, visit them at their work, and in which some fathers come to class to demonstrate their occupational skills.

The teacher needs to be well informed about community changes that are taking place. Much of the teaching of economic and technical change will take place by a kind of "educational osmosis" from the casual illustrations that teachers use in the normal teacher-pupil classroom discussions. Some of this teaching will also occur because individual pupils or their parents are better informed about airplanes, or television, or automation than the teacher can be. The use in classrooms of those citizens who participate in these technological changes should be encouraged.

Some communities have found it helpful to prepare instructional materials about the local community to provide examples that are readable for children in the elementary social-studies program.³⁰

The economic and technological trends also require a continued emphasis on thinking as a major objective of social-studies teaching. It is important that children be given an opportunity to share their thinking with other members of the class before arriving at final conclusions. The beginnings of the ability to sift fact from opinion, to discern dishonest propaganda from sincere argument, to distinguish among sources of information, and to choose the relevant rather than the irrelevant are in the elementary school.

30. Among the school systems that have prepared such materials are: Detroit, Michigan; Bucks County, Pennsylvania; Eastmanville, Michigan; Glencoe, Illinois; Grand Rapids, Michigan; Kansas City, Missouri; and Lead, South Dakota.

Relationships with other content areas need to be carefully nourished. Science and practical arts in particular make a great contribution to the social education of small children. Relating social studies to these areas will do much to emphasize the social implications of technological change. Hanna, Potter, and Hagaman give a practical illustration in a unit on "Pioneers Move Westward" in which pupils make powder horns, axes, spoons, cornbread, and soap to use as they act out the lives of the pioneers.³¹

SOCIETAL TRENDS

Population. Elementary-school teachers are well aware of the most dramatic aspect of the population changes in the United States—the enormous increase in the birth rate with the resultant crowding of schools from the elementary grades through the colleges. The magnitude of the educational task of providing teachers and buildings has occupied a central place in educational thinking for a decade. Perhaps a single statistical example will suffice to underline this ever-present problem: In 1935 the all-time low in birth rate was reached with 16.9 births per 1,000 inhabitants; the high point was reached in 1947 with a birth rate of 25.8. In recent years the rate has stayed around 24 per 1,000 inhabitants. Commenting on birth-rate factors Dewhurst noted: "It is too early to know to what extent . . . [the birth rate] may reflect a fundamental change in the ideas of married couples about family size."³²

Aging of the population is another change that has been gradually taking place over a long period of time. In 1850, 2.6 per cent of the population were 65 years of age or over; in 1900 slightly over 4 per cent; in 1950 more than 8 per cent. Present estimates are that more than 9 per cent or approximately 15 million persons in the United States are 65 or over.

The mobility of our population continues to be a major population trend. In a single recent year, approximately 20 per cent of our people moved their homes. Of those who moved, one-sixth moved from one state to another. The trend has been westward

31. Lavone A. Hanna, Gladys L. Potter, and Neva Hagaman, *Unit Teaching in the Elementary School*, pp. 475-76. New York: Rinehart & Co., 1955.

32. Dewhurst, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

with the center of population now in eastern Illinois. For more than thirty years there has been a movement of Negroes from the South—chiefly to Northern metropolitan areas.

The trend from farms and rural communities to the large urban centers has continued, and within the urban centers the movement has been away from the central city to suburbia with an accompanying decentralization of industry. Drucker has pointed out that "40 per cent of the American population and 56 per cent of all manufacturing are concentrated in forty metropolitan areas."³³ From 1940 to 1950 the population of the central cities increased by less than 14 per cent while suburban areas increased 36 per cent. More than half of the population gains in this decade took place in the outlying parts of 168 standard metropolitan areas.³⁴

Regional trends indicate that the Pacific and Mountain states will grow more rapidly than the rest of the country. California and Florida with estimated growths of approximately 38 per cent are expected to lead all the other states.³⁵

Health. Progress in medical science and in public health activities has continued to lower infant mortality rates in this country and to increase life expectancy. Turck summarizes these trends in this way:

Medical discoveries have added 9 to 12 years to life expectancy in the last generation. The average life expectancy for Americans stands today at a high of 68 years; at the turn of the century, it was only 47 years. In constant dollars, Americans spent 94 per cent more for medical care, paid 154 per cent more to private hospitals, laid out 460 per cent more in payments to group hospitalization associations, and paid 159 per cent more for accident and health insurance in 1950 than in 1940.³⁶

In spite of these enormous gains in the past decade, Drucker in discussing the "Eleven Coming Issues in Politics" which will occupy the center of the political stage for the next twenty years listed the center of the political stage for the next twenty years listed medical care as one of these issues. Medical care, including improved hospitalization and increased provisions for medical educa-

33. Drucker, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

34. Dewhurst, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 78.

36. Turck, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

tion, was included among the important political issues because we have not yet achieved the goal of making such care available to everyone.³⁷

On a world basis, the advances in medical science are causing concern that the control of diseases and the reduction in infant death rates in underdeveloped populous parts of the world are destroying the balance between deaths and births. The resulting explosion in population growth has become the object of serious study. Poverty, starvation, and degradation are poor rewards for the privilege of staying alive which medical science now presents to the world population.³⁸

Leisure. The American worker has achieved leisure. The forty-hour week is an actuality, with a shorter week predicted. The five-day work week is now commonplace. Vacations with pay are accepted as standard practice. Retirement under old-age insurance and pension plans gives new opportunities for leisure to older people. While professional people have not obtained the same amount of leisure, they too have had more leisure-time opportunities. Anxiety arises in terms of whether as a people we can use this time wisely.

Will our leisure hours be used for integrating experiences or will they result in personal deterioration? Much of the answer lies in the nature of education within families, churches, and schools. But the evidence is certainly not all in the negative, in spite of many forebodings. Turck, keeping the value of the dollar constant, has assembled some interesting facts:

In 1950 compared with 1940, Americans spent 96 per cent more constant dollars for books, 140 per cent more for toys and sports equipment, 219 per cent more for photo developing and printing, 129 per cent more for flowers and seeds, and 263 per cent more for phonographs and records, musical instruments, radios and television sets. Personal expenditures for the legitimate theatre and the opera are up 85 per cent in the ten-year period in comparison with only 42 per cent for motion pictures. . . .

Americans spent more dollars to go to classical musical concerts than to baseball games [in 1952] . . . attendance at concerts of serious music

37. Drucker, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

38. See Robert C. Cook, *Human Fertility*. New York: William Sloane Associates, Inc., 1951.

jumped 88 per cent between 1941 and 1951. The last decade saw an increase of 80 per cent in the number of symphony orchestras and 550 per cent in the number of local opera companies. . . .

Americans spent 412 per cent more for steamship and overseas aircraft fares in 1950 than they did in 1940. There were 55 per cent more overseas travelers in 1950 than in 1937 spending 67 per cent more dollars in foreign countries.³⁹

In contrast to these evidences of changes in our cultural pattern, it should be noted that, in constant dollars, from 1929 to 1950 expenditures for horse- and dog-racing increased 1,579 per cent, and for nonvending coin (pin-ball) machines 975 per cent.⁴⁰

Spectator sports continued their popularity. Expenditures in constant dollars for professional baseball increased 112 per cent in this period. Those for professional football 500 per cent, for college football 205 per cent, and for professional hockey 34 per cent.⁴¹

The automobile has become a chief form of recreation for many families as is shown by the fact that tourist travel to our national parks has doubled during the last decade.

Adult book-reading as a leisure-time activity does not occupy as much time as might be assumed in a literate nation. While nearly all adults read a newspaper and about two-thirds read one or more magazines, to what extent do adults read socially valuable material? In this sense, Clift in the 1956 yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, *Adult Reading*, noted: "The known facts on individual reading, library use, and bookstore sales contribute strongly to the uncomfortable feeling that we are very nearly a nation of nonreaders."⁴²

Asheim, in the same yearbook, after reviewing the studies of adult reading, stated:

When we say that Americans—by and large—are not readers, we mean that they are not sustained readers of serious content; not that

39. Turck, *op. cit.*, pp. 187-90.

40. Adapted from Dewhurst, *op. cit.*, p. 368.

41. *Loc. cit.*

42. David H. Clift, "Introduction," *Adult Reading*, p. 2. Fifty-fifth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II. Chicago: Distributed by the University of Chicago Press, 1956.

they do not indulge in the simple act of deriving meaning from written symbols.⁴³

The problem for the future seems to be one of finding ways to get literate adults to use their reading abilities for socially valuable purposes.

The long-term trends indicate that leisure time will increase in the next decade. The degree to which this greater leisure will be employed for socially and personally valuable activities depends in part on the work of the schools.

Integrity. Individual integrity is the ultimate reserve of any great democratic society. All the miracles of technology, science, and industry are of little importance if men are less honest, less concerned about their fellow-men, or less motivated by altruistic goals. Our ultimate standing before the people of the world depends on their belief in our fundamental integrity.

There are discomfoting aspects in these matters. Hollywood movies plus the abandon of some American tourists and soldiers has presented a picture of aggression, lawlessness, and drunkenness to a world that looks to us not only for economic and political leadership but for moral leadership as well.

At home the ebb and flow of the tides of juvenile delinquency has caused questioning as to whether the education of our youth is adequate for the pressures of these times. The 50 per cent drop-out rate from our high schools has been intensively studied during the past ten years.

The ethical and moral values of our people are matters of fundamental importance. Church membership increased from 65 million in 1940 to 87 million in 1950. In terms of total population this was a percentage increase from 49 to 57. Enrolments in theological seminaries increased during and after World War II.⁴⁴

During this same period the prison population in this country decreased from 172,996 to 165,796, but the total number of crimes reported increased from a million and a half in 1940 to over two million in 1953. In part, this latter increase may be the result of better reporting.

43. Lester Asheim, "What Do Adults Read?" *Adult Reading, op. cit.*, p. 7.

44. *Yearbook of American Churches*. New York: National Council of Churches of Christ in America, 1953.

These contrasting paragraphs indicate the complexity of estimating the trends concerning the fundamental moral attributes of our society. They can only underline the necessity of careful scrutiny of what happens to children and youth as they grow up in our complicated changing society.

The School. A survey of social trends would be incomplete without some brief mention of the direction of social change in the schools themselves. The outstanding trend for many years has been the rise in the general educational level of our people. As reported in Dewhurst: "The typical young adult today completes four years of high school, while the chances are that his father had less than a year in high school and that his grandfather did not go beyond grade school."⁴⁵

The combination of increased birth rates plus the trend to remain in school longer has taxed the school facilities in ways that all teachers are aware. Currently the colleges are beginning to feel the pressure of these increased enrolments. One of the issues that now faces the colleges is the same that faced the high schools following World War I. Shall the colleges be open to all youth of college age or shall they be restricted to those of outstanding ability? The high schools opened their doors to all. The social forces certainly contributed to making high-school education generally available. Will changed economic and social conditions also force the colleges to admit more youth? The trend has been for a larger percentage of college-age youth to attend college, but whether this trend will continue depends to a great extent on the ability of colleges to provide teachers and facilities and on admission policies.

The adult-education movement and the community-school movement are closely related to this trend for more people in our country to continue their education. The barriers between school and community are slowly being breached, and closer interaction is occurring. Twenty years ago, in an appraisal of social trends, Schorling and McClusky stated that there was a growing conviction among the masses regarding the desirability of education.⁴⁶ While mass

45. Dewhurst, *op. cit.*, p. 380.

46. Raleigh Schorling and Howard Y. McClusky, *Education and Social Trends*, p. 128. Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York: World Book Co., 1936.

education has undergone careful scrutiny in the past few years, all the evidence indicates that the American people still believe in education and are willing to give their time and money to make good education possible for all children in America.

Educational Implications. The elementary-school teacher must share responsibility for the emotional security of children who are growing up in a changing social culture. This supportive role is a great one. In a mobile population the child of the transient family frequently has difficult adjustment problems in moving from one school to another. The sincere interest of the teacher in the individual child alleviates some resulting insecurity. Skill in creating a feeling of belonging is an important skill in social-studies teaching.

As is pointed out in the next chapter, the changing culture itself influences the development of children. The teacher needs to be aware of the cultural pattern in the neighborhood of the local school and in the school community. Social-studies classes engaged in community study help children establish roots to the local situation.

Some of the content of the elementary social-studies curriculum can be drawn from the societal trends that have been described. Programs that are organized around basic human activities or social processes will naturally include many of the considerations discussed in this section—at the maturity level of the children. Examples include units on the school, life in cities, and communication.

As children clarify the problems of life through discussion in an atmosphere of freedom, they are helped to develop the values that are cultivated by the person of integrity. The behavior of children is influenced by the nature of school experiences if the teacher has stimulated understanding and sympathy for the roles of others. There is some therapy for the maladjusted too in the opportunity to identify life's problems in such a congenial atmosphere.

The leisure-time value of the social studies has not always been sufficiently recognized in the elementary school. Yet the success of the *Landmark* books⁴⁷ and the *Childhood of Famous Americans* series,⁴⁸ for example, as attested by children's librarians, indicates

47. Published by Random House, New York.

48. Published by the Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., Indianapolis, Indiana.

that for many children reading in social-studies areas is extremely valuable as recreation. Similarly, the success of television programs of a social-studies nature—from Disney's "Davy Crockett" to "See It Now"—indicate that social studies for leisure could be an important stimulus to an ongoing interest in innumerable aspects of community life.

Respect for honest differences of opinion, an appreciation for persons in different types of work, sensitivity to social problems and conditions are among the objectives which, by implication, deserve high priority because of the societal changes.

Conclusion

A brief summary of social trends necessarily omits all but the strongest currently discernible forces. But the major thesis of this chapter has been that the elementary-school teacher, as one aspect of developing a sound teaching program, should seriously consider the implications of social trends. If the social-studies program is not based on a careful analysis of our changing society, the accusation that schools teach for the past half-century and not for the next half-century could become true.

CHAPTER IV

Social Studies in Light of Knowledge about Children

RALPH H. OJEMANN

When we think of teaching the social studies, we tend to think of teaching social concepts, ideas, and skills in obtaining, sifting, and assimilating information relative to social problems. We think of learning about historical events, geographical locations, the nature of the life of early pioneers, and so on.

However, we are interested not only in the teaching of concepts or skills but also in the child's behavior. We hope that through work in social studies the child will become a more effective citizen both in the immediate groups in which he finds himself and in the larger society of which he develops a gradual awareness.

Since concepts, skills, and behavior are all interrelated, it seems most helpful to begin our exploration of the implications of research findings in child development for social studies by examining the nature of the child's behavior. Beginning with behavior does not imply that concepts and skills are of less importance. In fact, our analysis will show that, rightly understood, they are indispensable in human development.

The Nature of Child Behavior

Studies of the development of numerous behavior patterns have indicated that the same outward form of behavior may develop in a variety of ways. Two children may fight frequently, but each pattern may have developed quite differently. One child may fight as an attempt to overcome feelings of discrimination and to demonstrate his power. Another may fight as the only way he has learned thus far of getting responses from others. One child may neglect his studies because he feels they are of little use to him and has not yet learned to appreciate other ways of handling such a feeling.

Another may refuse to apply himself as a way of avoiding the difficulties he has experienced in reading, since he has not as yet learned more constructive ways of overcoming this difficulty.

Studies of child development have also suggested that we may think of behavior as the resultant of some "feeling" or "goal" or "impulse" or "motivating force" which the individual is trying to work out, using whatever resources in the form of ideas, concepts, and skills that he has available at the time. Behavior is a complex phenomenon produced by the interaction of several factors.

The feeling the person is trying to work out may be of a conscious character, as illustrated by the example of a person who experiences hunger and proceeds to satisfy his feeling by securing food. Sometimes these forces are relatively unconscious and may be very difficult to identify. This may be the case when an individual feels the loss of personal worth and satisfies this feeling by bullying. He may have a vague feeling of unpleasantness, but he may not be able to identify the feeling nor the experiences that produced it. The forces may vary in strength from person to person and at different times in the same person.

Examples of feelings or forces that most students of the problem recognize are: the desire for activity and rest; the desire of being free from, or having control over, or being protected from things the person assumes will harm him; the desire for sex expression; the desire for status, self-respect, or personal worth. In cultures in which the problem of supplying sufficient food has not yet been worked out, we would be especially concerned with the feeling of hunger.

The person uses whatever concepts, skills, and energy he possesses to achieve his goal. These concepts, ideas, and skills may be thought of as representing the organization of the nervous and muscular systems at the time the motivational forces are passing into action. The organization of the nervous system at any given moment before present stimulation is applied is the result of the interaction of the organism with its past experiences.

Whenever a strong motivating force is blocked, the individual feels a difficulty and attempts to overcome this difficulty. If he does not possess the necessary concepts and skills to identify the nature of the difficulty and to formulate constructive ways of

working it out, he may resort to methods that are nonconstructive in the sense that they disregard the feelings of others, the effects on others and on himself, and the extent to which they are effective in solving the real problem. In the many studies that have been made of non-constructive and non-co-operative behavior, the vast majority of cases reveal some difficulty or "block" which the child was trying to work out. In only a relatively small proportion of cases does the behavior appear to arise from situations other than those in which the child was blocked. For example, in an important study of delinquent behavior, Healy and Bronner¹ examined 105 cases of delinquency, each matched with a control child who was a sibling of the delinquent. In only nine cases was there a relative absence of emotional strain in the etiology of the behavior. In the other 96 cases there were clear evidences of difficult emotional situations which the child faced and which he attempted to solve in various ways, only to find that, in the light of the concepts and skills he possessed, the delinquent approach was about the only way open to him. In the nine cases in which no intensive emotional strain could be identified, the child had grown up in a culture in which the delinquent behavior was definitely taught as the way to live or was suggested by the neighborhood group as "something to do." As we shall see later, the finding that a great proportion of non-co-operative or "antisocial" behavior arises from the child's attempt to work out a difficult situation which he cannot solve constructively will be of considerable importance to social studies.

Thus, behavior may be considered as a resultant of a feeling or goal or motivating force interacting with whatever skills and concepts the individual has at the moment. This framework will clarify many aspects of this discussion of the teaching of social studies. For example, one of the forms of behavior of much interest to teachers is the behavior of a child toward the property of others. One of the oft-stated goals of social studies is to help the child learn respect for the property of others. Consider now this situation: Dick and Tom, both age 9, came into the room where Dick's brother Jerry, age 11, was working very carefully with some special stamps in his

1. W. Healy and A. F. Bronner, *New Light on Delinquency and Its Treatment*. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1936.

collection. Tom said, admiringly, "You sure have a lot of stamps there, Jerry. I wish we had a collection like that at our house."

Dick showed no direct interest in Jerry's collection. Instead, he threw his books carelessly on the table. Several stamps were crumpled and torn. Of course this made Jerry angry.

When we first hear about Dick's behavior we may agree with Jerry that Dick should be told about property rights and perhaps should be reprimanded. But there are other factors to be considered. Dick and Jerry shared a room together and the stamp collection took up most of that room. Jerry used the whole table most of the time. Then, too, Jerry had been making fun of Dick's smaller collection of stamps.

Dick was really very proud of Jerry and his stamp collection and wished he had one, too. He tried to start one with a few stamps one day, but Jerry laughed at him and told him the stamps were no good. Also, Dick had complained to Jerry about taking up so much room. Moreover, he had tried to talk it over with his parents, but they didn't help. In other words, Dick was being put in a position where his feeling of counting for something—of having a self-respecting place—was constantly blocked. He had tried to solve the problem as best he knew, but the situation was getting beyond him.

A study of the whole affair indicated that what Dick needed was not so much being told he should respect the rights of others as receiving help in understanding how his desire for a self-respecting place could be satisfied at the same time that he was showing consideration for Jerry.

Tom's entirely different reaction to Jerry's stamps was understandable, too, since he had a room of his own with plenty of space for his things and did not have someone in the room with him who laughed at him when he tried to do something.

In other words, if we are interested in developing behavior, we will have to take account of both the motivating forces (or feelings or needs) as well as the ideas, attitudes, and skills. If a person is in a position where his security, or self-respect, or hunger, or activity is seriously blocked, it will be difficult for him to co-operate with others.

This is true even for adults. It has been shown experimentally,

for example, that, if we take a group of college students, obtain their attitudes toward their friends or toward different nationalities, subject them to repeated blockings in situations that do not appear, but actually are, beyond their abilities to solve, and then ask them to rate their friends again, they will tend to rate them appreciably lower.² They will do this even though their friends were not present at the experiment and could have had nothing to do with the failures. Furthermore, very probably the subjects were not aware that they were lowering the ratings.

If we are interested in developing persons who can work with others, who can recognize in actual behavior the feelings and "rights" of others and can respect their property, we have to make sure that each individual has opportunities to develop a measure of dignity, self-respect, and emotional security through such behavior. We cannot develop a given pattern if it means that the child's own self-respect and personal worth are sacrificed. The problem of developing persons who can live and work together seems to be one of helping each individual work out his self-respect and security in ways that make it possible for others also to achieve their measure of personal worth.

There are several ways in which we can go about setting up such learning conditions. For example, Dick's parents perhaps could be taught to understand what he was trying to tell them when he complained to them. Likewise, if his teachers had sufficient training in child behavior, they would tend to be more sympathetic with his feelings and encourage him to come to them for help. Furthermore, Dick could be taught at school and at home that all of us get in difficult situations in which everything we try fails and that one of the things we can do is to talk such situations over with some of our teachers and counselors. By adding to Dick's store of concepts relative to the nature of such feelings and to his knowledge of ways in which difficulties might be worked out he might be stimulated to take the initiative in conceiving of more constructive methods. Through a similar analysis we could develop some sug-

2. N. E. Miller and R. Bugelski, "Minor Studies of Aggression: II. The Influence of Frustrations Imposed by the In-Group on Attitudes Expressed toward Out-Groups," *Journal of Psychology*, XXV (January, 1948), 437-42.

gestions as to how Jerry could learn to solve his problems without imposing on others.

Thus our conception that behavior involves feelings or motivating forces interacting with concepts and skills gives us some leads as to how various forms of behavior can be developed. It also helps us to see more clearly where social concepts and social skills fit in. It is quite possible that a child may know what the adult thinks he ought to do, as in Dick's case, but he may not see how following that line of action will help him solve the difficulties he is facing. What Dick needed as far as concepts are concerned was to know more about the place of the teacher and the counselor, to know more about the nature of the feelings that were bothering him, to know more about other methods which might be used which would accomplish the double purpose of helping him grow in the feeling of self-respect and personal worth. In other words, concepts are an important part of what the child needs, but they must include those aspects which help the child to work out constructively the feelings that stir within him.

The Selection of Concepts

This helps us at once to throw more light on the question of what concepts and skills the citizen requires. The answer to this question makes it necessary for us to consider not only what feelings or basic goals the child is trying to work out but also what concepts and skills he needs to work these out constructively.

For example, at the kindergarten and primary levels the child is very much engaged in learning to control the impulses to activity. He has not yet learned how to do this to the same extent as adults. It would be helpful if he could learn more about the nature of these impulses. He should understand that we all have such feelings and that if we proceed to satisfy them by jumping up and running about as we please we may be making it difficult for others. Also, he should know that there are several ways in which such impulses can be worked out so that his needs and those of the other members of the group, including the teacher, can be respected. It may be helpful for the kindergarten and primary child to know how the teacher plans the day's activity so that periods of relatively active work and play alternate with periods of relatively passive work and

play, such as listening to stories, contributing to a discussion, working with clay, drawing, and similar activities.³ One of the important things the child is learning at these early levels is the ability to deliberately channel his activity impulses more and more into the less active features of the school program, such as discussion, reading, and drawing. It would, therefore, be helpful for the child to understand that if the listening, reading, or drawing periods seem too long or too short for him he can talk it over with the teacher.

In a similar way, we could take the other major feelings with which the child has to deal and consider what concepts and skills he needs in order to work them out through constructive channels.

When we examine the usual curriculum in social studies at the primary grades, we find relatively little attention being given to helping the child understand the situations he faces and extend his knowledge about the many different ways in which human feelings can be worked out constructively (i.e., respecting the needs of self and others). The child is not born with such concepts. They have to be developed like other concepts.

Perhaps another way of demonstrating the importance of considering concepts in relation to the situations the child faces is to examine some of the concepts commonly included in the social-studies curriculum. One idea to which the child is introduced is that of taking turns. He is provided with a demonstration of and opportunities for practice in taking turns in such activities as telling time, using interesting apparatus on the playground, or serving on room committees. An important aspect of such activities is the extent to which the child gains assurance that when a pupil stands aside for others to take their turns his turn will also come. When it does not come, he needs to know what he should do, such as feeling free to ask the teacher about it. In this connection it is helpful to remember that the child's first experiences in a group of twenty-five or thirty children may be quite confusing. To wait until twenty-nine children have had their turns may seem very long. Helping the child to find out for himself if his turn comes as often as that of others may be very reassuring. Taking turns

3. R. H. Ojemann, "It Takes Time," *National Education Association Journal*, XL (February, 1951), 100-101.

should not mean for the child that he cannot be sure that *his* time will come too.

Another concept is that of sharing. When we consider this concept from the standpoint of the situations the child faces, we soon observe that in addition to the meanings usually taught such aspects as the following are involved: Suppose I share some play material that is breakable, what happens if it is broken? If I share some favorite object that some of the other children want, will I get it back? My parents don't want me to let anyone handle the object that I am asked to share; what am I to do?

The development of concepts to include those aspects that relate to the child's goals is perhaps more clearly illustrated in the majority-vote procedure. To help the child develop a meaning of this concept we will have to consider such questions as these: How can I be sure that my needs will be taken into account when others take part in the decision? What can I do when a clique controls all the votes? What should I do when I am asked to "gang up" on someone? If the child's experiences with majority-vote procedure are such that it frequently results in a failure to take account of the needs of all the children or if in his own group it is frequently used as a device for exploiting others, it is not difficult to see what meaning the concept "majority vote" will come to have for him. When questions of democratic procedures come up, they will not represent for him a device through which people achieve satisfying ways of living, but more likely a device for exploitation.

Another example of this general point is the concept of interdependence. The child can learn rather early how, in our culture with its degree of specialization, we are much dependent upon each other. But if the child in his experiences with interdependence finds that he is often blocked or frustrated, then interdependence will come to mean essentially something to be avoided.

In one second-grade class in an elementary school, the teacher attempted to enrich the meaning of social interaction by having the children play in miniature some of the life activities of adults. For example, in a unit on the farm, one group of children would play at feeding and caring for the cows, someone would operate the milk truck, still others would operate the creamery, and so on. Following such role-playing, the children would come together and

discuss their experiences. One day when the teacher opened the discussion, one of the children immediately pointed to another and complained with some feeling, "You didn't get the milking done on time so that I couldn't get the milk to the creamery. When I got there the creamery was closed." Such situations may be used to begin the discussion of the importance of mutual confidence and understanding in interdependence or teamwork.

Thus, when we examine in the light of the nature of the child's behavior the question of what concepts the citizen requires, we are able to identify concepts and aspects of concepts that appear rather important. There is evidence to indicate that our social-studies curriculum has not included many concepts relating to human feelings, or concepts relating to the variety of methods by which a given situation can be worked out. The concepts relating to human feelings, the effects of blocking, and the difficulties that man experiences can be taught as an integral part of the historical, geographical, and community-living units.⁴

INTEREST AND THE SELECTION OF CONCEPTS

In teaching, the question often arises as to what to do if we find children are not interested in, say, some historical material that we deem essential to the development of perspective. Our conception of the nature of the child's behavior enables us to make an analysis of what we mean when we say the child is not interested. The child is continually engaged in meeting the personality demands of maintaining self-respect, being respected as a person, developing a sense of achievement, maintaining a balance between activity and rest, feeling emotionally accepted and secure. When he is not interested in some activity, it means that he feels it will not help him achieve these goals. Hence, if we have some units in which he is not interested, it means that he does not see or feel how the material will help him grow. The child often expresses this idea by saying that he doesn't see how the "stuff" will do him any good.

The solution to such situations does not lie in postponing just

4. R. H. Ojemann, Anne Nugent, and Martha Corry, "The Place of an Analytical Study of Human Behavior in the Social-Science Program," *Social Education*, XI (January, 1947), 25-28.

because the child is "not interested." The solution lies, rather, in first making sure that it will help the child become a more effective person and citizen (i.e., we want to exercise care in selecting content) and then developing the necessary background so the child can appreciate in some measure how it will help him become the kind of person he wants to become. It may take some time to develop this background in a group of children. It may mean that in making assignments the teacher will have to take special care to help the children see where the assignment fits into the general scheme of things. It means that the teacher will have to take into account the experiences both direct and vicarious which the children have already had and build on them. In geography, for example, some children may have had close relatives in the Pacific area or in North Africa, whereas other children may not have had such experiences. Helping them understand how schoolwork benefits them is an important part of the art of teaching.

Another question that arises at this point is that of sex differences in interests. From the above analysis of the nature of interests we might expect certain similarities as well as differences in sex interests. Since both boys and girls are involved in working out essentially the same motivating forces, we would expect considerable similarity. Because our culture tends to approve, and thus to teach, some sex differences in methods of meeting personality demands, we would expect some differences to begin to appear as the later years of the elementary school are approached. For example, our culture tends to favor aggressive behavior in boys more than in girls. There is, in general, more approval of a boy's being quite active, restless, and pugilistic. Such behavior is considered "unladylike" in girls. Children are not born with these differences. They are taught by the culture in the home, at school, and in the community. We would expect boys to be more interested in military campaigns, active sports, construction, and what might be called "doing things." On the other hand, we would predict that girls would tend to be more interested in intimate friendships, in home relationships, school relationships, and status-giving activities which have what our culture calls "the feminine touch."

Some of these predictions are borne out by observations on sex differences in interests. Baker, for example, reports that boys tended

to exceed girls in contributions to discussions of sports at the sixth grade, science at the fourth grade, the "World's Fair" at the sixth grade.⁵ On the other hand, girls exceeded boys in number of contributions to discussion of pets in Grades II and IV, "other U.S. happenings" (i.e., other than national affairs, state affairs, crime, sports, etc.) in Grade VI, and home affairs and pleasure trips in Grade VI. On the other hand, Lacey's summary of her study of children in the kindergarten and first three grades makes no mention of sex differences.⁶

In interpreting sex differences we must remember that findings such as those of Baker are relative to the nature of the culture in which the child grows up. It is an interesting question whether any sex differences in interests would appear if social studies were oriented more toward the conception of learning how people can live together in creative and satisfying ways.

HOW CONCEPTS DEVELOP

In the discussion of the development of concepts we have two factors to consider: (a) the nature of the child, and (b) the experiences that are available to him. The importance of both factors has not always been recognized. Those who have been primarily concerned with experiences have often placed concepts at a given grade level without reference to ability of the child to incorporate them in his development. On the other hand, those who have been interested in studying the nature of the child and the development that one finds under present conditions have often neglected to consider what experiences the child has had and whether other experiences would have been equally or more satisfying and produced a different level of development. Jensen, in his review of studies of development of concepts, repeatedly pointed out the failure of investigators to indicate the background of experiences of the subjects

5. H. V. Baker, *Children's Contributions in Elementary-School General Discussion*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1942.

6. Joy Muchmore Lacey, *Social-Studies Concepts of Children in the First Three Grades*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932.

used in the investigations.⁷ Studies of the development of concepts such as those by Jersild have shown that what a child knows depends a great deal upon the experiences he has had.⁸ Some of the studies that have been made in connection with intelligence tests have also thrown some light on this problem. In a study of children's intelligence Shimberg prepared two groups of tests. One test was scaled by using children from a rural environment; the other by using subjects from an urban environment. As might be expected, on the test scaled by using rural subjects, children from the city environment scored lower than rural children, while the reverse was true for tests scaled by using urban subjects.⁹

Further evidence showing how the development of concepts depends upon experiences is indicated in some studies of the development of the concept of a causal approach to human behavior. Ojemann¹⁰ and Stiles¹¹ have provided evidence indicating that under present cultural conditions the approach to human behavior that is taught tends to be essentially noncausal in character. Both of these investigators used children at the fourth-, fifth-, and sixth-grade levels and both found that the vast majority of approaches to behavior made by the children in room council meetings were at or below the midpoint on a scale representing a causal-noncausal continuum. Few or no responses appeared at the causal end. On the other hand, when pupils were provided with a causally-oriented

7. K. Jensen, "The Social Studies," *Child Development and the Curriculum*, pp. 325-60. Thirty-eighth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part I. Chicago: Distributed by the University of Chicago Press, 1939.

8. Arthur T. Jersild, *Child Psychology*. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1954.

9. M. E. Shimberg, "An Investigation into the Validity of Norms with Special Reference to Urban and Rural Groups," *Archives of Psychology*, XVI, No. 104, 1928-29.

10. R. H. Ojemann, "The Effect on the Child's Development of Changes in Cultural Influences," *Journal of Educational Research*, XL (December, 1946), 258-70.

11. Frances S. Stiles, "Developing an Understanding of Human Behavior at the Elementary-School Level," *Journal of Educational Research*, XLIII (March, 1950), 516-24.

teacher using causally-oriented content, marked changes in the development of this concept appeared.¹²

It is not sufficient, therefore, to investigate the development of concepts or their interrelationships without considering the experiences the child has had. The ideal approach is to consider both the nature of the child and his experiences.

In a discussion of development, it is well to include a reminder about the complexity of concepts. A concept is essentially a group of meanings put together under one label. Thus, when we refer to a child's concept of time we may include many aspects. We may put the emphasis on sequence, such as prior to and following certain events, time of day by the clock, day of the week, the month, the year of a century, or centuries. In addition, we may consider duration such as an hour, a day, a week, a year, the sweep of centuries. This complexity of concepts is quite important in considering their development.

Studies of the development of concepts have suggested the following:

1. *Not all aspects develop at the same rate.*

The four-year-old, under our usual cultural conditions, can indicate that something took place before or after a meal but cannot indicate the time of day or the day of the week.¹³ The ordinary six-year-old in our culture has some conception of length of the school day but cannot give a very meaningful description of the length of a year. Children tend to refer to the present before referring to the future, and to the future before the past.

Springer investigated the ability of children four to six years of age to perform such tasks as telling the time at which certain familiar activities come in their daily schedule, telling the time by the clock and setting the hands of the clock to indicate a given time. Forty-seven per cent of the five-year-olds and 80 per cent of the six-year-

12. R. H. Ojemann, E. E. Levitt, W. H. Lyle, and Maxine Whiteside, "The Effects of a 'Causal' Teacher-Training Program and Certain Curricular Changes on Grade-School Children," *Journal of Experimental Education*, XXIV (December, 1955), 95-114.

13. L. B. Ames, "The Development of the Sense of Time in the Young Child," *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, LXVIII (March, 1946), 97-125.

olds could tell the time their school starts, but only about 25 per cent of the five-year-olds and 33 per cent of the six-year-olds could set the hands of the clock to indicate a given hour.¹⁴ Studies by Friedman¹⁵ and Bradley¹⁶ provide further data.

An indication of the development of children's ideas of historical time is found in a study by Oakden and Sturt. They asked children to arrange names of outstanding historical personages in order of chronological sequence. They found that not until age eleven or so were concepts of historical time sufficiently developed to carry out an activity of this type.¹⁷

A further indication that the various aspects of a concept do not develop at the same rate is found in a study by Scott. She investigated sixth- and eighth-grade children's understanding of various statistical concepts by the use of multiple-choice questionnaires. When the data relative to the understanding of the meaning of "average" were examined, results such as the following were found: Eighty per cent of the pupils could identify the rule for finding averages, but only 25 per cent were aware that a statement regarding sugar consumption used in the test was a statement of the "average" amount of sugar consumed. In the test item involving ages of ten people in a music club, only 41 per cent of the pupils were aware that the average age multiplied by ten would give the sum of the ages of the members of the club. On three exercises testing knowledge of facts that should be used to find average, 75 per cent passed the item relative to facts needed to find average rainfall, 55 per cent the item relating to average cost of a list of presents.¹⁸

14. Doris Springer, "Development in Young Children of an Understanding of Time and Clock," *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, LXXX (March, 1952), 83.

15. K. C. Friedman, "Time Concepts of Elementary-School Children," *Elementary School Journal*, XLIV (February, 1944), 337-42.

16. N. C. Bradley, "The Growth of the Knowledge of Time in Children of School-Age," *British Journal of Psychology*, XXXVIII (December, 1947), 67-78.

17. E. C. Oakden and M. Sturt, "Development of the Knowledge of Time in Children," *British Journal of Psychology*, XII (April, 1922), 309-36.

18. Lucy Scott, "A Study of Children's Understanding of Certain Statistical Concepts in Social Studies." Unpublished Master's thesis, State University of Iowa, 1942.

The development of some aspects of a concept may depend upon the growth of other concepts. In a study of the development of time concepts in 160 children from kindergarten through third grade, Harrison found that some of the concepts are dependent upon number meanings and relationships. For example, it is difficult for a child to develop a conception of "month" until he has some appreciation of what 30 or 31 means. Similarly, the concept of a year involves the idea of twelve months.¹⁹ It is, of course, possible to develop these concepts without direct reference to the number, such as "a year is as long as from one summer to the next," or "from one Christmas to the next," or "from one of your birthdays to the next," but even here the importance of basic number concepts tends to enter.

2. *Differences in development within a given age or grade level are usually greater than among successive age levels.*

Lacey's study of 125 common social concepts in the first three grades found that, although there tends to be a continuous development in children's concepts from grade to grade, the differences within a grade group seem to be of more importance than the differences between grades.²⁰

Harrison, using a group of fifty common terms relating to time, found that the *high*-intelligence level in kindergarten achieved almost as many correct responses as the *low*-intelligence group in the third grade. The high-intelligence group in the first grade achieved a higher per cent of correct responses than the low-intelligence group in the third grade.²¹ Similar results were reported by Macomber,²² Jersild,²³ and Baker.²⁴

19. M. Lucile Harrison, "The Nature and Development of Concepts of Time among Young Children," *Elementary School Journal*, XXXIV (March, 1934), 507-14.

20. Lacey, *op. cit.*

21. Harrison, *op. cit.*

22. F. G. Macomber, "A Placement Study in Secondary-School Economics," *Journal of Experimental Education*, IV (June, 1936), 353-58.

23. Jersild, *op. cit.*

24. Baker, *op. cit.*

3. *Since there is no intrinsic or inevitable connection between the meaning of a concept and its label, it is quite possible for a child to use the label with a minimum of meaning or the wrong meaning.*

This phenomenon is well known under the name of "verbalism" and requires no extensive documentation. Scott and Myers, for example, found that children may give correct answers to direct questions, as in a class recitation, even though they had only a vague or incorrect conception of their meanings. Many children were able to give the names of two explorers but were then unable to describe what was meant by an "explorer."²⁵

Aitchison found not only vague meanings but also many misconceptions among sixth, seventh, and eighth-graders as to the meanings of such words as "torrid," "temperate," and "frigid."²⁶

Horn reports a number of studies by his students in which the meaning elementary-school children had developed of such concepts as "many people," "very irregular," and "a great deal" was investigated. The interpretations by fifth-grade pupils of "many people" as used in "many people in Alaska are engaged in the fishing industry" varied from 50 to "as many people as Chicago has." Fourth-graders interpreted "thick cap of ice" in the sentence, "Most of Greenland is covered with a thick cap of ice and snow which never melts away," with such meanings as "one inch," "three feet," "fifty feet," "thousands and thousands of feet."²⁷ Similar findings are reported by Preston.²⁸

4. *Some concepts are developed by experiences which the child gets*

25. Flora Scott and G. C. Myers, "Children's Empty and Erroneous Concepts of the Commonplace," *Journal of Educational Research*, VIII (November, 1923), 327-34.

26. Allison E. Aitchison, "Torrid, Temperate, and Frigid Zones: Sources of Error in Children's Thinking," *The Teaching of Geography*, pp. 483-85. Thirty-second Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education. Chicago: Distributed by the University of Chicago Press, 1933.

27. Ernest Horn, *Methods of Instruction in the Social Studies*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937.

28. Ralph C. Preston, *Teaching Social Studies in the Elementary School*. New York: Rinehart & Co., 1957 (revised).

out of school as well as in school, while other concepts depend more on school experiences.

Burton, in a study of children's specific information, found that such a concept as "legislator" was learned primarily through school experiences, whereas the term "divorce" seemed to be developed primarily through out-of-school experiences.²⁹ Eaton, in a study of pupil achievement of sixth-grade pupils found that the amount of understanding children develop with respect to concepts ordinarily considered in the social studies in school is not directly related to the amount of time devoted to such topics in the school program.³⁰

In this connection, Harrison points out that, in developing concepts of time, teachers and parents have to be careful in the use of such phrases as "just a minute."³¹ As one child expressed it to her mother, "In one of *your* minutes, Mother."

5. *Concepts that have a personal reference or those that deal with something immediate and personal tend to be more readily learned than concepts dealing with something more remote.*

Farrell, in a study of time-relationships in five-, six-, and seven-year-old children of high intelligence quotients, found that time questions involving the personal and immediate were better answered at the lower chronological- and mental-age levels than questions that involved the remote and nonpersonal.³²

6. *The development of concepts depends upon both the experiences the child has and his level of development.*

A study of time concepts in sixth-grade children investigated this problem by using two groups of subjects. One group had

29. William H. Burton *et al.*, *Children's Civic Information, 1924-35*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1936.

30. M. T. Eaton, "A Survey of the Achievement in Social Studies of 10,220 Sixth-Grade Pupils in 464 Schools in Indiana," *Bulletin of the School of Education, Indiana University*, XX (1944), 1-14.

31. Harrison, *op. cit.*

32. Muriel Farrell, "Understanding Time Relations of Five-, Six-, and Seven-Year-Old Children of High I.Q.," *Journal of Educational Research*, XLVI (April, 1953), 587.

received systematic training in both history and geography in the fourth and fifth grades. In the sixth grade they received intensive training in historical events. The children in the other group received training mainly in geography, with less attention to historical events. When tested early in the seventh grade, both groups showed gains over scores achieved in the sixth grade, but there were no significant differences in the scores between the two groups.³³ Bender and Frosch found that younger children tended to respond to more situations in terms of the immediate and personal. With advancing age, however, a more conceptual development of the implications farther removed from children's immediate experiences appeared.³⁴

An important problem that arises in the development of concepts in social-studies teaching is the question of when the child's concepts of time, geographical location, and distance are sufficiently developed so that he can profit from a study of history and geography. Since the development of a concept depends on both the nature of the child and the experiences he has had, this question cannot be answered in the same way for all children of a given age or grade level since the experiences they have had will differ greatly. Most of the studies of the development of concepts, such as those of the concepts of time, have examined children without reference to the experiences they have had. Furthermore, as Preston has indicated, there are many devices the teacher can use to help the child develop a concept of historical time that make use of something closely related to the child, such as "the time when your father was born" or "the time when your grandfather was a boy."³⁵ Baker found that, in the spontaneous discussion of children in the second grade, 83 per cent of the material contributed was obtained through "personal presence" (i.e., events they had directly experienced). At the sixth-grade level, this figure stood at 25 per cent.³⁶

33. F. Pistor, "How Time Concepts Are Acquired by Children," *Educational Method*, XX (November, 1940), 107-12.

34. L. Bender and J. Frosch, "Children's Reactions to the War," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, XII (October, 1942), 571-86.

35. Preston, *op. cit.*

36. Baker, *op. cit.*

None of the studies of the development of the concept of time has asked the question, "What concepts *can* the child develop when he is placed in an environment in which there are many uses of such meaningful and enriching experiences?" Furthermore, as investigators become interested in such a question, our ability to devise ever more meaningful experiences will very probably grow, and children will be able to develop meanings that we now consider too difficult for them.

Present studies of the concept of time have shown that at the kindergarten level the child is aware of such differences as before and after lunch (morning or afternoon), before and after certain activities, and a general "tomorrow" and a general "yesterday." Practically all of the children in kindergarten in our present culture can learn to give the name of the day (i.e., Monday, Tuesday, etc.). By the time they have learned some of the number concepts, that is, when they are about seven years of age, they can learn the number of days in a month, can tell the approximate time by the clock, and give the seasons of the year. By eight or nine years of age, such concepts as "a year is as long as from one Christmas to the next" or "as long as from one of your birthdays to the next" appear to have considerable meaning. By the time the fifth and sixth grades are reached, such concepts as "a hundred years ago" can acquire some meaning, provided the meaning is developed from experiences which have meaning for the child, such as "when your grandfather was a boy" or "when the first railroad was built" or a series of sequences such as a series of meaningful events on a time line. From our discussion of concepts, it appears that providing meaningful experiences closely related to the activities of the child deserves more emphasis than a timetable to be applied to all children.

A somewhat similar statement can be made with respect to the development of such study skills as ability to read maps, ability to interpret graphs, and ability to find additional information in reference books. Studies such as those of Howe,³⁷ Thomas,³⁸ and

37. George F. Howe, "A Study of the Ability of Elementary-School Pupils To Read Maps," *The Teaching of Geography*, *op. cit.*, pp. 486-92.

38. Katheryne Colvin Thomas, "The Ability of Children To Interpret Graphs," *The Teaching of Geography*, *op. cit.*, pp. 492-94.

Wrightstone³⁹ show that the elementary-school child has considerable difficulty in using geographical and historical tools and that the growth in ability to use such tools continues well into the high school. However, as such studies as those by Thorp⁴⁰ and by Whipple and Preston⁴¹ indicate, systematic teaching hastens growth in ability to use social-studies tools. Here again, as Preston⁴² and Bruce⁴³ point out, more ingenuity is needed in devising methods of teaching which take into account the backgrounds of the children with whom one is working and which break up the process of learning the use of complicated tools, such as maps, into a series of simpler learning tasks. The first maps may be maps of the immediate neighborhood with which the child is familiar. The first maps may also show only one or two major points. When these have been mastered more can be added.

How Learning Takes Place

The studies of the development of concepts and skills have already suggested some of the conditions for effective learning. In discussions of learning, such as those of Mowrer,⁴⁴ Munn,⁴⁵ and Hilgard,⁴⁶ the question has been raised as to whether learning as it takes place in the acquisition of sensory motor skills is comparable in all respects to learning as it takes place through problem-solving.

39. J. W. Wrightstone, "Conventional versus Pictorial Graphs," *Progressive Education*, XIII (October, 1936), 460-62.

40. Mary Tucker Thorp, "Studies of the Ability of Pupils in Grades Four to Eight To Use Geographic Tools," *The Teaching of Geography*, *op. cit.*, pp. 494-556.

41. Gertrude Whipple and E. J. Preston, "Instructing Pupils in Map Reading," *Social Education*, X (May, 1947), 205-8.

42. Ralph C. Preston, *op. cit.*

43. Paul Bruce, "Vitalizing United States History," *Social Studies*, XLV (April, 1954), 137-39.

44. O. H. Mowrer, *Learning Theory and Personality Dynamics*. New York: Ronald Press Co., 1950.

45. N. L. Munn, "Learning in Children," *Manual of Child Psychology*, chap. vii. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1954.

46. E. R. Hilgard, *Theories of Learning*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1948.

For example, there is a great deal of experimental evidence indicating that repetition and also reinforcement (i.e., the effect of satisfying the motivating forces involved in the activity) are important factors in learning skills and a variety of "habits." But the role of repetition when there is no apparent repetition, as in the case of seeing a sudden solution to a problem or developing a sudden fear, is not so clear.

There are a number of other basic issues on which investigators in learning are divided. Hilgard,⁴⁷ for example, lists five. This is an indication that our knowledge of learning is still incomplete and our answer to the question as to how learning takes place will have to attempt to identify the aspects on which most investigators agree. We will not come out with a complete picture, but we will attempt to develop those suggestions for the teacher that our present state of knowledge permits.

For example, most theories of learning give emphasis to motivation. For effective learning there is some motivating force that is being satisfied or some goal which the learner is trying to reach, and through reaching it he is rewarded. The reward may be an intrinsic one, as in the case when the need he feels is being satisfied by the activity itself. As the process is repeated, the repeated satisfaction of the motivating forces may provide reinforcement of the activity.

In addition to the reward that comes with satisfying the motivating forces, there may be various external rewards, such as praise from others or various types of additional recognition. What has been called "secondary reinforcement" may be provided by the giving of some valid object or a payment of money which may become associated with the original "need producer" and thus serve as a substitute for it.

However, in animal experiments, some evidence has been obtained to indicate that there may be "latent learning." What is meant here may be explained as follows: It has been observed that rats placed in a maze without hunger and given no food while in the maze show no reduction in time or errors in running the maze. But later, if they are put in while hungry, they learn the maze more

47. Hilgard, *op. cit.*

quickly than rats which have not had the first experience. It appears that the rats, during the first experience in the maze, learned something, even though it appeared unrewarded by factors which the experimenter manipulated. Some investigators have thus proposed a kind of learning without apparent motivation. Not all animal investigators have accepted this explanation, however, and experiments with children have not produced consistent evidence of such latent learning.⁴⁸

In the case of children there may be many factors, such as finishing the learning task to get out to play, pleasing the experimenter, doing what one is asked to do by the teacher since it is considered the thing to do, pleasure experienced in manipulating ideas as in the "provisional try" in problem-solving, that could operate to produce a reward. It appears that the weight of present evidence points to the importance of a child's having a goal toward which he works in his learning and the teacher's knowing what the child is trying to do.

It should also be recognized that what the child feels during the learning process depends in some measure upon his awareness of the effects of his activities in reaching his goal. If he is rather clearly aware *now* of the probable effects on him in the future of acquiring an understanding of some relationship, the reward situation will be a different one from that which obtains if he is aware of only immediate effects of his activity. For example, if a child is aware that becoming a skilful reader will help him find out about many things he wants to know, the feeling he has about the immediate task of reading will be combined with the feeling he has about the activities he may be able to do in the future. If both are rewarding, this will help make the learning conditions more effective. If the effects of one are rewarding and those of the other are "punishing," their combined effect will depend upon their relative strength.

From studies in reinforcement gradients, it appears that immediate effects tend to be quite powerful, and hence it would seem that the most effective learning conditions would be those in which both the feeling of the immediate and the awareness of the remote

48. L. B. Abel, "The Effects of Shift in Motivation upon the Learning of a Sensori-Motor Task," *Archives of Psychology*, XXIX, No. 205, June, 1936.

effects could be combined at the time the learning is taking place. An example of such a condition would be one in which the child feels that he is mastering something which is worth while, both now and in the future, and at the same time his feeling of security, his desire for activity, and similar demands continue to be satisfied.

Two closely related problems, namely, the extent to which the development of a task is dependent on the maturation of the physiological structures regardless of the experiences supplied and the extent to which learning can modify the basic or fundamental nature of the personality, have been the objects of study and theoretical analysis. Relative to the first question, it appears that the development of such skills as sitting up and walking, which are developed in very early childhood, has thus far not been changed to a considerable degree by special exercises. Munn⁴⁹ provides a rather extended summary of the studies by Dennis, McGraw, and others. With skills of greater complexity, such as those with which the teacher of social studies is concerned, the kinds and amounts of experience supplied by teachers, parents, and other adults become very important. Learning number concepts and then learning to tell time by the clock, learning to use an atlas, developing self-confidence in social relations are all examples of activities in which the quality of the learning program plays a large part.

Experimental evidence, as well as general observation, indicates that in the development of a concept or of a relationship between several concepts as in a principle or rule, the child must be helped to differentiate one concept from another; that is, one aspect of the meaning of a concept may be discerned in its differentiation from closely related concepts. There must be some regularity in the use of the concept or rule, and this can be pointed out to the child verbally, by demonstration, or in other ways. Thus, if the child is to learn concepts through direct teaching, such teaching, with its system of rewards and punishment, must have a measure of consistency to help clarify its meaning. Baldwin,⁵⁰ in his analysis

49. Munn, *op. cit.*

50. Alfred L. Baldwin, *Behavior and Development in Childhood*. New York: Dryden Press, 1955.

of the learning process points out the importance of the "clarity of the concept" on the cognitive level.

An example of the influence of learning experiences working in opposite directions and thus not helping to clarify the situation is found in a study by Zelen and others.⁵¹ The purpose of the study was to extend children's understanding of the forces that operate in human behavior and thus help them take a more dynamic or "causal" approach to their social environment. He attempted to do this by having a well-trained teacher take the children for an hour a day. The remainder of the day the regular classroom teacher continued her usual teaching. Previous studies had shown, however, that the usual school content relating to human behavior as found in the usual school texts was essentially noncausally oriented and that the teacher's behavior also tended to be mainly of a noncausal character. The learning situation, thus, was one in which the child learned a causal approach in one situation and a noncausal approach in another. The results of the investigation showed that under these conditions it was possible to make only small changes on the cognitive level and no changes on the deeper appreciation level.

This brief summary of the learning process has suggested several implications for the teaching of social studies. It appears that, for effective learning, conditions characterized by the following are helpful:

1. The opportunity to engage in tasks that are suited to the background of the learner and are a challenge to him
2. A goal toward which the child can work and the significance of which he can feel
3. A learning task of such a character that the various motivating forces, such as the desire for security, the demands for activity, or the feelings of hunger, are satisfied either through the learning activity or through the general arrangements under which learning activity takes place
4. Provision for repetition, with intrinsic rewards if feasible, when skills or habits are involved
5. Situations involving problem-solving so designed that, when the child arrives at the solution, he feels he has accomplished something worth while, with a gain in security and status and without frustration of other motivating forces

⁵¹ Seymour Zelen *et al.*, "Effect of a Causal Learning Program." Unpublished report, Preventive Psychiatry Project, State University of Iowa, 1954.

The Development of Values

The problem of the development of values is usually thought of in such terms as the following: How does the child learn desirable behavior? How does he learn what is good and bad? How does he learn what he ought to do and what he ought not to do? It seems, however, that it would be helpful to approach this problem in a more dynamic way. In the first place, when we raise the question of how the child does acquire his ideas as to what he ought to do, we usually do not make a distinction between what the adult says he ought to do and what the child thinks he ought to do. In most studies of values, the child is presented with situations and then is asked what he thinks should be done in the situation. There is evidence that when the child responds to such questions he may respond in terms of what the adult wants him to say rather than in terms of what he really thinks. This may lead to a disjunction between so-called knowledge and behavior. Fite⁵² observed in three- and four-year-old children, for example, that a child may say during an interview that fighting is bad but may, in his actual behavior, exhibit a good deal of fighting. In phrasing our question, we want to make a distinction between the child's values and the adult's values, and we want to know how the former develops.

Secondly, if we assume that values as applied in the area of conduct are essentially designations of ways of living that man has found creative and satisfying or that he assumes to be most satisfying, then we can rephrase our question in some such way as this: How does the child learn what are the creative and satisfying ways of solving various situations? Since we want to keep in mind the distinction between what the child knows and what he does, we would add a second question, namely, when the child is free to choose from among many methods of solving a situation, how does he learn to select those ways which will lead to creative and happy relationships with others and with himself? When we put the question of the development of values in terms of learning ways of solving ethical or moral situations, we seem to have a more mean-

52. M. D. Fite, "Aggressive Behavior in Young Children and Children's Attitudes toward Aggression," *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, XXII (May, 1940), 151-319.

ingful starting point. We will discuss each of these questions in turn.

The process of learning *knowledge* of values is somewhat as follows: The child is engaged in the process of working out his impulses to activity, his desire for security, the feelings of hunger, and so on. In his early years he will receive many suggestions from his parents and teachers as to how to do this. They may be methods which the parent or teacher has chosen for the child and not necessarily those which he has chosen for himself. The child will tend to accept many of these suggestions. Since in our culture most parents and teachers do not have much insight into the needs of children, the child may soon find that many of the suggestions of the adults often do not help him solve his problem. He is then forced to devise other ways of meeting the situation. Since the child's ideas are quite limited, he may try a variety of immature methods. If he attempts an immature method, the adult usually will not approve of it and expresses his disapproval in a variety of ways. He may frown, scold, admonish, reprimand, demand, or punish. Since the child is still confronted with his problem, he may, if the disapproval becomes sufficiently severe, conform outwardly to the adult's demands as long as parent or teacher is in effective range. But when he is beyond the effective range of parent or teacher, he may try other methods, most of them still immature. He will tend to keep on trying until he finds a method that gives at least an immediate solution to his problem. Since his concern with more remote or "long run" effects is not well developed in the early years, he may accept the more immature but immediately satisfying method.

It is well known that the child may soon learn that he can obtain the adult's approval or at least avoid punishment if he verbally expresses approval of the adult's suggestions when he is asked directly what he should do. But when he is confronted with the actual situation, he may follow a different line of action.

There are some studies which describe various aspects of this process of the development of values in the early years. Hill⁵³ questioned urban children as to their ideals, finding that 30 per cent

53. D. S. Hill, "Personification of Ideals by Urban Children," *Journal of Social Psychology*, I (1930), 379-92.

of the seven-year-olds named their fathers and mothers as their ideals. In contrast, only 9 per cent of the ten-year-olds gave a similar reply, and the percentage was practically zero for the fifteen-year-old group.

Brown and others⁵⁴ obtained correlations between children's ratings of affectional relationships within the family and ratings on various character traits for these same children given them by their peers. It was found that the correlations between affectional relationships within the family and character-reputation scores were consistently higher in the ten-year-old group than in the sixteen-year-old group.

Havighurst and others⁵⁵ obtained a similar result in a study of the development of the ideal self in children and adults. Children were asked to respond to questions on the topic "The Person I Would Like To Be When I Grow Up." Concepts as to the ideal self in early childhood tended to represent an identification with one or both parents. In early adolescence, there were more evidences of identification with movie stars, sport's heroes, or outstanding historical characters.

Some evidence of the powerful influence of adult example at the intermediate-grade levels was furnished in a study by Zelen,⁵⁶ to which reference has already been made. As a child grows older he may adopt, as in Havighurst's study, the suggestions of characters he encounters in his reading, on TV programs, in the comic books, or elsewhere.

When we examine the school curriculum, it appears that although there is much suggestion as to what is good behavior, there is very little that helps the child understand the nature of his social environment so that he will have more resources which he can use in working out for himself the appropriate form of behavior. In this respect, the approach of the school to value concepts appears to be quite

54. A. W. Brown, J. Morrison, and G. B. Couch, "Influence of Affectional Family Relationships on Character Development," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XLII (October, 1947), 422-28.

55. R. J. Havighurst, M. Z. Robinson, and M. Dorr, "The Development of the Ideal Self in Childhood and Adolescence," *Journal of Educational Research*, XL (December, 1946), 241-57.

56. Zelen, *op. cit.*

different from the procedures that are used in developing other concepts. It is quite generally recognized that the child develops more meaningful concepts if he can build them up out of a variety of experiences, either direct or vicarious or both. Thus, to develop an appreciation of the differences between the slower hand-methods of grinding grain which the Indians used and the more rapid machine-methods, children often actually grind grain by hand. But in developing an appreciation of the differences between "good" and "bad" methods of solving a situation, the various methods are not discussed in terms of their effects, nor is the child encouraged to judge for himself. More often, he is told what is the right way.

Often the suggestions of the adult are more punitive than understanding in character, as illustrated by the frequency with which the judgmental rather than the understanding approach is used in our culture. Children under present cultural conditions tend to adopt such a judgmental, punitive approach in their relations with others.

Studies such as those by Stiles,⁵⁷ who observed children's behavior during room council sessions in which problems of conduct in the classroom and on the playground were discussed, and those by Lyle and Levitt⁵⁸ indicate that children in the fourth, fifth, and sixth grades tend to be quite punitive in their approaches to situations. The study by Stiles, however, showed that when children have an opportunity to learn something about how behavior situations develop and thus have more of a basis for making a decision, they tend to become much less punitive and more causal in their approach. Ojemann, Levitt, Lyle, and Whiteside⁵⁹ also found that when children were taught a causal approach to social situations their scores on the punitive test showed a significant decrease when compared with those of carefully matched control groups.

Thus we develop a very interesting answer to our question, how does the child acquire knowledge of what are creative and satisfy-

57. Stiles, *op. cit.*

58. W. H. Lyle and E. E. Levitt, "Punitiveness, Authoritarianism, and Parental Discipline of Grade-School Children," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, LI (July, 1955), 42-46.

59. Ojemann, Levitt, Lyle, and Whiteside, *op. cit.*

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59. Ojemann, Levitt, Lyle, and Whiteside, *op. cit.*

ing ways of solving situations? On the one hand, he has the suggestions of adults who through oral injunction, through written methods, and through demonstration suggest what he "ought to do." Sometimes what adults tell him—either orally or through writing—conflicts with what he sees adults do. Why such discrepancies occur is not discussed with him or explained to him. He does not gain an appreciation of the fact that adults, too, are engaged in working out situations which are difficult and that inconsistencies represent man's fumbling attempts to find a creative way of living. Furthermore, what adults communicate to him often does not coincide with his own experience. When we examine a given child's knowledge of values, we find the results of these conflicting influences.

In the process of developing his value concepts the child soon learns that there are situations in which it is "safer" to say what the adult "wants you to say" than what "you really think." Investigators of children's knowledge of values have repeatedly observed that they have to exercise extreme care to separate in the child's responses what the child really thinks and what the child thinks the adult wants or will approve.

The answer to our question as to how the child acquires knowledge of what are creative and satisfying ways of solving social situations has another interesting aspect. There are some creative and satisfying ways of solving situations which the child has but little chance to learn. As we indicated earlier, ideas of value under our present home and school conditions are not developed by showing the child a variety of methods of solving a situation, having him examine the various methods in terms of their effects—both short-term and long-run effects—and then helping the child to learn which are the more creative and satisfying and which are less so. Some methods, such as seeking to understand how the situation came about and what forces are operating and then shaping the course of action accordingly, are not taught very extensively either at home or at school, and the child has but little opportunity to learn them.

So far, we have been discussing how the child develops ideas of desirable behavior. There still remains the important question, how does he learn to put these ideas into practice? That is, when he is

in a situation where he is free to choose from a variety of approaches to the problem, such as when the teacher is not around to watch him or the parent is not around, how does the child learn to select and apply those methods of working out situations which lead to creative and happy human relationships? There are only a few studies which throw light on this problem. It appears that the crux of the matter lies at two points which are closely related. As has been indicated, the child tends to try out the suggestions of his parents and teachers in the early years. Since parents and teachers in our culture do not, on the whole, have extensive insight into the needs of children, the child soon finds that many of the suggestions of his parents do not help him solve his problem. The child may even find that following the adult suggestion may make the situation worse.

The second part that appears important in the development of socially mature behavior is that it appears difficult for a child to take account of the long-term effects of his behavior on others and on himself if he is presently bothered by feelings of insecurity and inadequacy, if he has great difficulty in working out his impulses to activity, if he is hungry or fatigued. In other words, when a strong motivating force is blocked and the child can find no solution to his problem, the emotional strain makes consideration of other than his immediate situation difficult. It is well known that when a person is emotionally disturbed, thinking is difficult. Thus, if we are interested in developing socially constructive behavior, we will have to help the child achieve a measure of personal adjustment in his daily activities so as to remove the intense emotional strains that interfere with thinking of the larger consequences of behavior.

Our study of the development of value concepts and their application in daily living has some important implications for the social studies. Under present cultural conditions children receive relatively little help in learning different ways of solving a situation and then examining these situations in terms of the effects that they have. The situation in teaching ideas of values appears to be quite different from that which obtains under present conditions in the teaching of other ideas. In the area of values we tend to proceed rather dictatorially. We tell the child this is what he ought to do rather than discussing with him the bases from which he can figure

out what he ought to do. These bases consist in knowledge of the ways in which situations develop, of a rich variety of ways of working out a given situation, and of the probable effects of these procedures.

The second implication for social studies is that if we expect the child to put constructive value ideas into practice we have to make sure that he is emotionally free to think his way through the situation he faces. If, because of his experiences at home, in the school, and on the playground, he feels quite insecure or feels that he does not have a fair chance or that he isn't respected as a person, he may become so concerned with his own feelings that he finds it difficult to think of the larger implications of his behavior. We also have to make sure that there is a solution to the daily situations which the child faces, that is, that the problem can be worked out in such a way that the child can grow in security and self-respect without interfering with the plans of others.

The Development of Selected Behavior Patterns

It was indicated at the outset of the discussion that students of social studies are interested not only in the development of knowledge about social phenomena but also in the development of social behavior. It may be helpful to bring together the foregoing discussion on the nature of behavior, the development of concepts, and the nature of learning and focus on the development of selected behavior patterns. It is not possible to consider all the various forms of behavior involved in the social studies, such as conflict, respect for property, and co-operation. But we will select three to demonstrate some of the major principles in the development of behavior. The first pattern we may select is the development of aggressive behavior.

AGGRESSIVE BEHAVIOR

A number of studies have been made of this form of behavior, and a brief summary of the major findings will help us delineate some of the factors in its development.

1. Fighting or related forms of aggressive behavior tend to appear when children in American culture are placed in a situation in which their ability to plan and think is not recognized. When the

same children are placed in a situation in which planning is done with them within the limits of their abilities, the incidence of fighting and related forms of behavior tends to decrease. For example, Lewin and others⁶⁰ placed a group of fifth-grade boys under an "autocratic" leader. The boys were in a playgroup and were engaged in such activities as making masks. Observers carefully recorded the behavior of the children while they worked under the conditions of autocratic leadership. After a period of several weeks, the situation was changed, and a leader who did more planning with the children took over. Fighting and similar forms of behavior were reduced to about one-thirtieth of their incidence under the "autocratic" leader. Similar results were obtained by Anderson and Brewer⁶¹ in their observations of "dominative" and "integrative" teachers.

2. Studies of fighting have also indicated that it tends to arise in situations in which the subjects are under psychological stress. The hostility may be directed to the person or persons assumed to be responsible for the difficulty or it may be directed toward persons or groups not directly responsible for the stress. For example, Miller and Bugelski⁶² administered a series of long and difficult tests to a group of twenty-one young men between the ages of eighteen and twenty who were working in a camp. Attendance at the testing session precluded attendance at an important program at a local theater. The tests were sufficiently difficult so that considerable failure was assured for everyone. Prior to the taking of the test the men were asked to rate foreigners on a variety of traits, such as selfishness, friendliness, stinginess, and slyness. Half of the men were asked to rate Japanese, and the other half rated Mexicans.

Following the series of tests, the subjects were again asked to rate the foreigners on the same scale. The results showed that the

60. Kurt Lewin, R. Lippitt, and R. K. White, "Patterns of Aggressive Behavior in Experimentally Created 'Social Climates,'" *Journal of Social Psychology*, X (May, 1939), 271-99.

61. H. H. Anderson and J. E. Brewer, "Studies of Teachers' Classroom Personalities. II. Effects of Teachers' Dominative and Integrative Contacts on Children's Classroom Behavior," *Applied Psychology Monograph*, VIII (July, 1945).

62. Miller and Bugelski, *op. cit.*

ratings of the foreigners given by the group as a whole at the close of the series of experiences were less favorable than they had been before taking the tests, even though the foreigners had nothing to do with the arrangement of the experiment or the amount of failure the men experienced. Further evidence of the effect of psychological stress is found in the literature.⁶³

3. Aggressive behavior also tends to increase when subjects are tired, hungry, or exposed to other physiological stress. Goode-nough,⁶⁴ in a study of anger in forty-five young children in the home environment, found that the peak of "anger frequency" tended to occur before meals. A similar tendency was noted by Gates⁶⁵ in a study of college women.

Sears and others⁶⁶ placed a group of twelve college students in an experimental situation in which the subjects were kept awake all night, forbidden to smoke, forced to stand for long periods of time, required to remain silent for several hours, and promised food which was not delivered. Running accounts of the subjects' comments were kept, including a time-sample record of aggressive behavior occurring during selected ten-minute periods. The time-sample observations showed a steady increase in the amount of aggression during the course of the experiment.

4. Aggressive behavior tends to occur among children who are rejected in their home environments.⁶⁷ The aggressive tendencies

63. A. F. Zander, "A Study of Experimental Frustrations," *Psychological Monographs*, Vol. LVI, No. 3, 1944; Isabel Young-Masten, "Behavior Problems of Elementary-School Children: A Descriptive and Comparative Study," *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, XX (May, 1938), 123-81; John P. McKee and Florence B. Leader, "The Relationship of Socioeconomic Status and Aggression to the Competitive Behavior of Preschool Children," *Child Development*, XXVI (June, 1955), 135-42.

64. F. L. Goodenough, *Anger in Young Children*. Institute of Child Welfare Monograph Series, No. 9. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1931.

65. G. S. Gates, "An Observational Study of Anger," *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, IX (August, 1926), 325-36.

66. R. R. Sears, C. I. Hoveland, and N. E. Miller, "Minor Studies of Aggression: I. Measurement of Aggressive Behavior," *Journal of Psychology*, IX (January, 1940), 280-96.

67. E. I. Grant, "The Effect of Certain Factors in the Home Environment upon Child Behavior," *University of Iowa Studies, Studies in Child Welfare*, XVII (December, 1939), 61-94.

of the rejected child were characterized by considerable bullying, quarreling, and use of physical force in shoving, pushing, and grabbing toys.

5. A number of studies have indicated that if the child is given some adult help by his parents and teachers in working out a solution to the frustrating situations he meets, fighting and related patterns tend to become less frequent. Appel found a number of techniques used by the teachers helpful to the child.⁶⁸ Grant reports a correlation of .55 between co-operativeness in children and scores of the parents as to the extent to which they evidenced giving help to the child in learning how to solve social-problem situations constructively.⁶⁹

6. If a child grows up in an environment in which overaggressive behavior is considered and taught as the approved way of solving difficulties, he may adopt this method. In the study by Healy and Bronner referred to earlier in this paper, there were a number of examples of delinquent behavior that had developed in this way.⁷⁰

When we examine this series of six findings relative to overaggressive behavior, we seem to observe two major lines of development. One group is represented by those children who grow up in an environment where they are taught the overaggressive behavior. In some cultural groups, for example, the child is taught to carry a knife to use in defending his "rights." Such instances are decreasing in number in American culture, but children who are taught that fighting is the best way to solve social difficulties are found in significant numbers.

The second major line of development is represented by that large group of cases in which there is a blocking of some of the major motivating forces such as occurs when the individual is under intense psychological or physiological stress, or when he is subjected to discrimination, rejection in the home environment, or

68. M. H. Appel, "Aggressive Behavior of Nursery-School Children and Adult Procedures in Dealing with Such Behavior," *Journal of Experimental Education*, XI (December, 1942), 185-99.

69. Grant, *op. cit.*

70. Healy and Bronner, *op. cit.*

similar experiences, and when in such situations he receives no help in learning how to solve such situations constructively. It will be noted that there are two conditions that are specified. There is a frustration represented by the blocking of the path to some goal which the child is trying to reach, but there is also the condition that the child receives no help in working out constructively the frustrating situation.

WITHDRAWAL BEHAVIOR

Since we have been discussing the development of conflict and aggressive behavior, it will help to balance the picture if we also consider the development of withdrawal behavior. The teacher is interested in both types. At one time, as shown in the study by Wickman, teachers tended to be much less concerned about shyness than about the overaggressive forms of behavior.⁷¹ However, recent work in this area has made it clear that the withdrawal behavior may be indicative of difficulties the child is having, just as the overaggressive behavior may be.

Submissive behavior may appear in several different forms. There may be withdrawal from a stranger or a strange situation, there may be withdrawal from work or play with others who are not strange but whom the child has known for some time, and there may be nonparticipation as in a class or group. In the latter form, the child does not withdraw physically, but he withdraws mentally or emotionally. There may also be physical withdrawal from school. Since we are interested here in children of elementary-school age, the forms of most interest to us are those involving relationships with strangers and relationships with schoolmates and playgroups.

Several studies have thrown light on some of the factors that are related to this type of behavior. Grant, in a study of thirty-three preschool children, found a correlation of $-.54$ between "seeking and playing with a group" and the protection or rejection which the child experienced in the home environment. Children who were overprotected in the home environment tended to seek

71. E. K. Wickman, *Children's Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes*. New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1928.

out and play with the group less frequently than children from homes with less protection. On the other hand, she found a correlation of .64 between fostering social development and playing with the group.⁷²

Jack, in an attempt to find out some of the factors that underlie submissive behavior, compared a group of ascendant children with a group of more submissive subjects. In her study of the two groups, the chief difference appeared in the frequency of evidences of the lack of self-confidence. The submissive children more frequently exhibited behavior showing fear of competition, such as appealing to adults for response or attention, interfering with other activities apparently to gain attention, or reacting strongly to criticism and threats.⁷³

These results suggested to Jack that perhaps the nonascendant behavior could be changed by providing a series of experiences that would have a high probability of developing a feeling of self-confidence. She selected activities such as learning how to tell a story, using a picture book, building interesting mosaics, and solving picture puzzles which she felt would have a high prestige value for the group. These experiences were designed to help the child make a distinct contribution to activities involving the group. Jack found positive results in changing submissive behavior, and her results have been verified by other investigations, such as those of Page⁷⁴ and Mummery.⁷⁵

Some light on the factors involved in withdrawal behavior may be obtained from the sociometric studies of factors associated with popularity. Popular children tend to be favored by health, pleasing appearance, good physique, somewhat above-average intelligence,

72. Grant, *op. cit.*

73. Lois M. Jack *et al.*, "An Experimental Study of Ascendant Behavior in Preschool Children. I. Behavior of the Preschool Child," *University of Iowa Studies. Studies in Child Welfare*, IX (1934), No. 3.

74. M. L. Page, "The Modification of Ascendant Behavior in Preschool Children," *University of Iowa Studies, Studies in Child Welfare*, XII (August, 1936), No. 3.

75. D. V. Mummery, "An Analytical Study of Ascendant Behavior of Preschool Children," *Child Development*, XVIII (March-June, 1947), 40-81.

and friendliness.⁷⁶ On the other hand, factors associated with unpopularity suggested a disinterest in the general environment which was exemplified in behavior problems, restlessness and the like.⁷⁷ There is a suggestion from these studies that at the elementary-school level unpopularity tends to be associated with difficulties in adjustment, but there are large individual variations. Sometimes these difficulties are with the child, sometimes with the other members of the group. Clinical analyses of shyness have indicated that sometimes the abilities and interests of the child are not appreciated by the group. Examples of such cases are found in some outstandingly capable historical characters who were not accepted by their immediate group.

For the teacher, these findings have several implications. Withdrawal behavior may be an indication of difficulty in social adjustment as well as overaggressive behavior. The child may use withdrawal behavior as a way of solving a difficult social situation. But not all cases of shyness are of this type. Sometimes the child's abilities and interests are such that they appeal only to a very few children. In such cases the problem seems to be more one of helping the group understand and appreciate these individual differences. History may furnish some examples that can be used in such teaching.

Since withdrawal behavior may develop in many different ways and since the meaning it has for the child may differ greatly from child to child, the importance for the teacher of knowing individual children as personalities is again indicated.

76. M. E. Bonney, "A Study of the Relation of Intelligence, Family Size, and Sex Differences with Mutual Friendships in the Primary Grades," *Child Development*, XIII (June, 1942), 79-100; M. E. Bonney, "Personality Traits of Socially Successful and Socially Unsuccessful Children," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, XXXIV (November, 1943), 449-72; M. E. Bonney, "A Sociometric Study of the Relationship of Some Factors to Mutual Friendship on the Elementary, Secondary, and College Levels," *Sociometry*, IX (February, 1946), 21-47; R. Cunningham, A. Elzi, J. A. Hall, M. Farrell, and M. Roberts, *Understanding Group Behavior of Boys and Girls* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1951); R. G. Kuhlen and B. J. Lee, "Personality Characteristics and Social Acceptability in Adolescence," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, XXXIV (September, 1943), 321-40.

77. M. L. Northway, "Children with Few Friends," *School*, XXXII (January, 1944), 380-84; and F. Laughlin, "A Study of the Peer Status of Sixth- and Seventh-Grade Children." Unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1953.

CO-OPERATIVE BEHAVIOR

The studies of the development of co-operative behavior are much less numerous than those of aggressive behavior. In a sense, the studies of both aggressive and withdrawal behavior have suggested some of the lines along which development of co-operative behavior may take place. It appears, for example, that placing the child under psychological or physiological stress and then giving him no help in working out the situation will tend to produce conflict rather than co-operative behavior. On the other hand, if the child has some opportunity to succeed in his work, such as making some good grades in school, or is given some help to acquire the prerequisites of working with others, more co-operative behavior tends to appear. Hartshorne and May, in their studies of service and self-control, found a low but significant relationship between school marks and service scores although there were no significant relationships between intelligence and service scores.⁷⁸ Wolfle and Wolfle found that one of the important factors determining co-operative behavior in young children in an experimental situation is facility in the use of language so the children could readily communicate their suggestions and feelings.⁷⁹

A further factor in the development of co-operative behavior is an understanding and appreciation of the forces that operate in the social environment. Morgan and Ojemann, for example, found that when young people were helped to understand more of the situations faced by the people in their environment, i.e., their teachers, parents, and employers, and some of the ways in which they were trying to work them out, thus increasing their understanding of behavior, there was a tendency for interpersonal conflict to decrease and co-operative behavior to increase.⁸⁰ One boy who was about ready to run away from home learned that his father's neglect of his family started when, some years earlier, the father had lost his

78. H. Hartshorne and M. A. May, *Studies in the Nature of Character. I. Studies in Deceit*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1928.

79. Dael Wolfle and Helen Wolfle, "The Development of Co-operative Behavior in Monkeys and Young Children," *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, LV (September, 1939), 137-75.

80. Mildred I. Morgan and R. H. Ojemann, "The Effect of a Learning Program in the Understanding of Behavior Development upon Personality Adjustment of Youth," *Child Development*, XIII (September, 1942), 181-94.

business and had not recovered from this experience. When he learned something about that situation, the boy showed less bitterness toward his father and more willingness to work with him.

The study by Levitt provides data showing that anti-democratic attitudes tend to decrease and willingness to assume responsibility in social situations tends to increase as the child acquires an understanding and appreciation of the causal approach to his social environment.⁸¹

These findings suggest that if the child learns how to understand and appreciate the forces that operate in his social environment and if he has opportunity to develop a sense of accomplishment, self-respect, and personal worth through his daily activities, a foundation for the development of co-operative behavior has been started.

Implications for the Teacher

Throughout this discussion of social studies in the light of knowledge about children, numerous implications for the teacher have become apparent. We may summarize these briefly as follows:

1. Child behavior, in both its non-co-operative and co-operative forms, is a complex resultant of the interaction of motivating forces and the ideas, skills, and attitudes the child has available at a given moment. Concepts and skills are thus some of the factors involved in behavior, but they are not all the factors. If we are interested in developing a child who not only "knows" but "will do," we have to take account of the feelings the child is trying to work out or the goals he is trying to reach. The daily tasks of the child consist in working out feelings of self-respect, a sense of accomplishment, and emotional security. The work of the teacher, the parents, and other associates consists in helping him find ways of working out his feelings which not only meet his needs but also make it possible for him to avoid interfering with the plans of others.

2. In selecting concepts and skills to be taught, we have to begin by considering both the basic motivating forces that affect the child's personality and what resources the child will need to be

81. E. E. Levitt, "Effect of a 'Causal' Teacher-Training Program on Authoritarianism and Responsibility in Grade-School Children," *Psychology Reports*, 1 (1955), 449-58.

able to work them out under the prevailing conditions. When we examine curricular offerings in this light, we find concepts relating to human behavior, to the variety of ways in which situations can be worked out, and to the probable effects of these alternative procedures, while the child's skill in identifying some of his own strivings are often only lightly touched. Historical, geographical, and community living units have vast possibilities in helping the child appreciate the difficulties man has experienced and is experiencing in forging a creative and satisfying life for the variety of personalities to be found in almost any sizable social group.

3. Since behavior is quite complex and may develop in a variety of ways, each group of children presents significant individual differences. Since the child's concerns, ambitions, knowledge, and fears are the starting point in working with him, it follows that the teacher must make at least a beginning in knowing each child so that he can effectively guide him in his learning. If the teacher is interested in developing citizens who can co-operate with other citizens, it becomes doubly important for the teacher to know how the child is coming along in his personal adjustment at home and at school and what he needs by way of concepts and skills to help him master the social environment in which he finds himself.

4. Since adults—parents, teachers, other citizens—are also engaged in finding creative ways of living and since man's knowledge of such ways is still quite limited, it often happens that adult behavior is not entirely consistent. Since the child tends to be influenced, especially at the early years, by the examples which adults set, he will find many inconsistencies between what adults say and what they do. Furthermore, since adults as a rule in our culture have not extended very far their understanding of child behavior, the suggestions which parents and teachers give the child may not be effective in helping him solve the situations he faces. Thus, in both example and precept, our present culture presents a very confusing "value picture" to the child.

Teachers should try to help the child understand the basic causes of these confusions so that he can interpret them more adequately. It would also be helpful if teachers and parents could straighten out their own concepts of effective ways of living to the end that they may set a reasonably consistent example for the children to emulate.

In this connection the teacher often faces such questions as these: Suppose differences arise between home and school, or suppose the child is confronted with differences between father and mother, what can the school do? The problem of working with parents is a complex one, but there are several suggestions that might be useful:

- a) The teacher may be able to establish a relationship with the parents so that through conferences and visits he is able to influence them to try other ways of guiding the child. If the attitudes of the parents are very deep-seated, it would require a very skilful teacher to establish rapport and secure co-operation. But in numerous cases, much of the problem arises from the failure of the home to understand child behavior, and the teacher finds the parents eager for information. Certainly, in approaching the home, the teacher must also try to understand parent behavior and to make sure that he does not add further complications to the situation.
- b) The classroom teacher, through the parent-education program of the school and clinic, can lend his support to efforts to help parents. While the teacher may not have the time or the training to participate actively in such a program, he can lend his "moral" support to it.
- c) The classroom teacher can support the parent-teacher meetings by his attendance. His influence in developing the program and his endeavor to get acquainted with the parents of the children in his class may be of value long before trouble develops. Parent-teacher meetings offer an opportunity for teachers and parents to get acquainted in an informal setting not dominated by a problem situation that must be worked out.
- d) In spite of every attempt by teachers, it may be difficult to win the confidence of a few parents and, even if they are reached, the emotional tension aroused by the situation may be so strong that little can be done to get their continuous co-operation. . . . Such situations may be part of the price society is paying for not providing opportunities for young parents to receive preparation for the complex task of rearing children. Family-life education programs in schools are a recent development. Many parents, now guiding children, did not receive such training, and it may not be possible through conferences to establish the background necessary to understand the behavior of children.
- e) Without minimizing the influence of the home or excusing parental behavior, the classroom teacher can do everything in his power to make the school environment a place where the child finds security and respect—where he finds activities that are challenging and worthwhile. Thus, his desire for security and personal worth, even though

they may be threatened at home, will find some opportunity for fulfillment at school.

- f) As the child grows older, the teacher can do much to help him gain insight into the behavior of his parents. The child can be taught to think of the causes or reasons for parental behavior; he can be helped to adjust to his own family situation. Evidence suggests that such help by the school can be very effective.⁸²

5. Since effective learning conditions require that the child feels that he is gaining in significant achievement as he masters the learning tasks, it is important that the daily social-studies program be so devised that each child feels the significance of what he is asked to do and feels a challenge in it. How to do this is perhaps one of the most important and most difficult questions in teaching. Keeping the experiences meaningful; casting questions, exercises, and problems in such a form that the child sees the connection between the goals he is attempting to reach and the learning tasks he is asked to perform; and arranging conditions in such a way that the child feels he has made a significant step in becoming the kind of person he basically wants to become—these are some of the suggestions that developed from our analysis.

This problem is of such widespread significance that it deserves far more emphasis than it has received. Through the social studies, an effort is made to help the child understand and appreciate the social component of his culture. This culture has been in the making a long time, and the child cannot feel the significance of a current "social issue" or "social problem" unless he appreciates how the problem affects people like himself or those in whom he is interested.

For example, a social-studies topic of importance to adults is that of conservation of human and natural resources. But why would we expect the ordinary child in our culture to be interested in it? He and most of his associates have enough to eat and something to wear. If he or his associates do not have as adequate a shelter as they think they should have, the relation between this problem and conservation is not apparent on the surface.

The interesting fact is that if we examine the history of such

82. Ralph H. Ojemann, *Personality Adjustment of Individual Children*, pp. 28-29. Washington: Department of Classroom Teachers and the American Educational Research Association, 1954 (pamphlet).

a concept as conservation, we soon begin to realize that it took adults—man as a whole—a long time to realize its significance. Its importance as applied to natural resources did not become apparent to many adults until the soil, forest, and mineral resources of large areas of our country had been depleted. Many adults had to have some bitter experiences before they were willing to give attention to the problem. By and large, they were not interested in conservation until they began to realize how destruction of resources made it difficult for them to grow in significant and happy accomplishment. Even today, the problem of conservation of human resources—being our own and our brother's keeper—is not too clear to many adults.

The problem of teaching such a topic as conservation at the child level is thus essentially one of providing vicarious experiences that will help the child feel how an understanding of it will aid him and his associates to grow in worth-while and happy accomplishment. One way of doing this is to provide many opportunities to learn about the effects when conservation measures are not practiced. Perhaps the teacher can read and discuss with the class some accounts of the effects of soil, forest, or mineral depletion on the fortunes of families and individuals like the child himself. Such accounts must be accurate and sincere. Perhaps the teacher can discuss with the class accounts of the difference in yield or income in comparison to costs in terms of hours of labor expended that appear when soil, forests, or businesses are "conserved" and when they are exploited. It may be necessary to consider the effects over several generations with emphasis on the effects on children of each succeeding generation.

It may be possible to find and bring in young men and women who are now working on farms, in forests, or mines that were not wisely handled in years past and have them tell the class how they feel, how they have suffered, and what problems they face. It may be possible to find and bring in men and women who took over a "run-down" farm, forest, factory, business, or mine, who applied conservation practices and are now experiencing some of the results. By using examples from a variety of occupations, the teacher is more likely to help each class member. Not every child is interested in farms. For some, the factory has more meaning. For some,

a business. This is another reason why the teacher must know the ambitions and concerns of each child.

To summarize: The reason why it appears difficult to teach children many of the topics in social studies is that the issues or problems which the topics represent crystallized in man's thinking as a result of a long series of experiences. The purpose of education is not to have the child relive those experiences in all their time-consuming, trying, and brutal aspects but, through vicarious and carefully planned direct experiences, develop the basic understanding and appreciation. The teacher, textbook-writer, and curriculum-maker have to get clearly in mind what man's experiences were, what effects they had on him, and then select those that will, in a measure duplicate these effects. Since social-studies topics deal with people, teachers and curriculum-makers have to give much thought to what the experiences of man were and what the effects on people were of the experiences which resulted in the crystallization of the topic and then seek to produce through abbreviated experiences awareness of significance in the child. We have discussed some examples of how to do this with the topic of conservation of natural resources. We could take any topic and apply this general principle.

6. Since co-operative behavior requires not only knowing how to co-operate but also finding in co-operation an enhancement of one's self-respect, dignity, security, and personal worth, it is important to examine the conditions under which the child lives. It is not sufficient to confine our concerns to the classroom. The teacher must be aware of the conditions under which the child lives so that he can provide either directly or indirectly through additional help whatever the child needs to build the security and self-respect he needs to be emotionally free to continue his learning of the creative ways of living with others.

CHAPTER V

Social Studies in Relation to the Total Elementary-School Program

HELEN HEFFERNAN

Into the elementary schools come the raw materials of our democracy. Here these children—the bright, the less well-endowed, the timid, the forward, every kind from every manner of home and background—meet as members of a distinct social group. Their experiences in this group will influence, for better or worse, their lifelong attitudes and ideas regarding ways of living and working together in a democratic society. From their experiences here, also, they are to acquire the skills, the knowledge, the loyalties, the common understandings which are essential both for the unity and stability of society and for self-respecting competence and responsibility as individual citizens. Out of the needs of children and of society are developed the purposes of the elementary school.

Purposes of the Elementary School

Primarily, the elementary school is concerned with those outcomes of learning which should be the common possession and attainment of all citizens. Language, customs and manners, common loyalties and cherished values, history and traditions; the commonly used practices of community life needed by all for the unity, co-operation, and smooth working of society are the foremost responsibilities of the elementary school. Some of these can be learned as facts. Many of them must be learned through experiences in willingly shared responsibilities and must be made vital by the eager response of the children to a challenging situation. The full purposes of elementary education can be achieved only in a school where there is willing participation and increasing self-direction.

The broad purposes of elementary education, growing out of fundamental needs, may be summarized as follows:

1. To develop the basic skills and understanding essential to the effective use and comprehension of the arts of communication
2. To promote the development of character and right social conduct through activities which give satisfying experiences in co-operation, self-control, and fair play
3. To provide instruction and practice leading to the building of habits conducive to health, safety, and physical well-being
4. To develop the skills and understanding necessary for effective measurement, computation, and problem-solving in situations of significance to the pupils
5. To help children learn how basic human needs for food, clothing, shelter, safety, and comfort are met in their community and in typical regions throughout the world, and thus to lead them to an understanding of the relationships and interdependence of agriculture, industry, and other essential services in civilized society
6. To develop a sympathetic understanding and appreciation of the movements, struggles, and ideals interwoven with the building of our nation, and of the responsibilities resting upon its citizens
7. To provide through classroom organization and activities, the first-hand experience of working in a democratic environment, in which participants learn the satisfaction of growth in self-direction and responsibility
8. To promote wholesome recreational and cultural interests through experiences with music, art, literature, and similar forms of enjoyable expression which brighten life and give it richer meaning

To achieve these purposes, the elementary school strives to provide learning experiences which contribute:

1. To the development of sound physical and mental health and controlled emotional reactions
2. To command of the skills of learning—reading, oral and written expression, mathematics
3. To the knowledge, attitudes, and abilities needed to understand the physical and social environment and to live effectively in it
4. To the understanding and appreciation of music, the graphic and industrial arts, literature, and the dance—in general, the arts which add beauty and richness to life

The Purposes of the Social Studies

The entire school program contributes to the realization of the purposes of elementary education when all the activities of the school are carried on within the framework of democratic principles and ideals. Every experience the school provides must rein-

force our commitment to the chief values of American society. These include the desire and the ability to seek and face facts, respect for human dignity, and moral integrity—loyalty to the basic values one has accepted to live by.¹ At the same time, the social studies have a very special responsibility because they are concerned also with the physical environment of man and with man's activities as he has endeavored to make his environment satisfy his basic needs for food, clothing, shelter, and spiritual satisfaction. The social studies are concerned further with man's development of the institutions essential to group living, such as: the family, the church, the school, the community, the state, the nation, and international organizations of various types.

American education has directed much attention to the task of defining the goals of the social studies in the elementary school. It is evident that the social studies deal with the very warp and woof of living. Their importance to human welfare is so great that the social-studies curriculum should be most carefully constructed and related as significantly as possible to many of the learning experiences the school provides. Within the social-studies curriculum itself arise needs for many of the skills of learning. In studying any area of the social studies, needs arise for observing, listening, discussing, reading, and for collecting, organizing, and evaluating information. All of these activities are needed in the social studies because they are basic to clear and analytical thinking.

The Place of Social Studies in the Curriculum

In growing from infancy to maturity, the individual devotes a large part of his time and energy learning about and adjusting to the world of nature and the world of people. Broadly conceived, social studies and science comprise the whole field of significant content in the school curriculum. The subject matter of the social studies involves people, their activities, aspirations, and achievements; that of sciences, the phenomena of nature. The subjects of the elementary-school curriculum, consequently, do not stand upon one plane of importance. The social studies in particular occupy

1. Herbert Fingarette, "Background of American Values," *California Journal of Elementary Education*, XXIII (February, 1955), 155-72.

a unique position in the school program, since their purpose, as has been pointed out, is fundamentally the major purpose of the whole school. The school is a social institution, and everything included in the curriculum must be justified in terms of its social value. The child learns to read in order to share in the experiences and thoughts of other members of society. He learns arithmetic so that he may participate later on in business and technical affairs with an understanding of quantitative relationships. The child studies oral and written expression so that he may communicate with others effectively and use socially acceptable standards of speech and writing. Similarly, art, music, and literature are social expressions; the artist, musician, or writer is expressing his observation of man's relationship to man or man's relationship to his environment. Even health instruction in the schools is largely determined by social motives and standards.

It is obvious that social studies merit an important place in the curriculum of the elementary school—as important a place as civic literacy, civic responsibility, and civic competence must have in contemporary life if we are to continue a free people.

The Relation of Social Studies to Science

The answers to many questions and the solution of many problems which arise in social situations or as a consequence of social, economic, or political changes are to be found in the field of science. Some of the significant learnings that involve science include:

1. Learning about our world, the natural setting in which human beings live, and the resources in the form of materials and energy upon which human beings depend for existence and well-being
2. Learning to think reasonably about what is learned from studying the conditions that exist in the physical world
3. Learning to establish factual truth by observation and to test conclusions by experimentation
4. Learning to apply scientific knowledge to the solution of problems, the answering of questions, and the explanation of occurrences
5. Learning that science has made great contributions to human welfare

Examples of the use of science in relation to social studies can be found in almost any curriculum unit. In a study of community life, for example, young children may learn how food is produced

or distributed, how food is protected to make it safe for human consumption, how the community provides for heat, light, water, how it protects itself from fire. In a study of Japan, the children wanted to know about the kind of clothing worn by the Japanese people. This led to a study of the silkworm, during which the children actually raised silkworms and reeled the silk from cocoons. In their reading they discovered that most of the people did not wear silk clothing, or wore it only rarely. This led to an intensive study of how cotton is cultivated, how it is shipped in bales to Japan, and how it is woven into cloth in Japanese mills. In pursuing their study of the Japanese people, the children studied the weather conditions, volcanoes, the food of the people. All of these understandings developed important science concepts in relation to the life of a people.

Many questions involving science learnings arise in social studies. What makes an airplane fly? How is fire extinguished in the hold of a ship? How is oil that is spilled in a harbor picked up? These are illustrations of a few questions involving significant science learnings. Exceedingly interesting classroom experiments can be developed in answering such questions.

A sixth grade, studying communication, carried on an extensive series of experiments with electromagnets which helped them understand how man has used natural forces to make communication throughout the world almost instantaneous. Both social studies and science become more meaningful to children when the opportunities for science experiences and science learnings are recognized and utilized. This, then, becomes the task of the curriculum-worker: to identify those significant science learnings which increase the depth of understanding of children in each social-studies area they explore.

The Relation of Social Studies to Health Education

Because the elementary-school period is one during which children experience great physical growth, constant attention in the school must be given to sound health practices in cleanliness, nutrition, relaxation, and exercise as a part of daily living. The social studies, apart from their traditional functions, provide innumerable opportunities for health learnings. In a study of farm life in the

second grade, emphasis was placed on the value of the protective foods, the importance of cleanliness in the handling of foods, how the government works to safeguard health, and how the water supply is protected from contamination. Almost every study of a culture or a historical period offers opportunity to study the health problems which have confronted the people and the effect of meeting or failing to meet these problems wisely.

The Relation of the Social Studies to the Arts

The social studies act as a strong stimulus for aesthetic expression through painting, creative writing, music, and rhythms. Through creative expression the children have the opportunity to share their experiences and to develop standards of judgment and performance. The creative power which the child develops and the creative learning which takes place are more important than the created product. In a study of the people of Mexico, the children made a pictorial map with a border of individual pictures of Mexican people in native costumes, Mexican architecture, plates and pottery showing Mexican designs, plants, and animals. Historical events were shown on a time line with appropriate pictures painted by the children. Murals were painted showing a market, rural Mexico, the volcanoes, and modern developments in Mexico City. The children learned to dance *El Jarabe* and *Los Viejetos*, listened to Mexican music on record, and learned to sing *Cielito Lindo* and *La Cucaracha* in Spanish.

Understanding and appreciation of any culture develop from acquaintance with the music, crafts, paintings, dance, and literature of the culture. The aesthetic expressions produced by a culture or in a historical period truly interpret the life of the people. Great emphasis on the cultural products of a people should be an integral part of the experiences children have in the social studies.

The Relation of the Social Studies to the Skill Subjects

The social studies create a genuine need for all the skill subjects in the curriculum. The social studies stimulate learnings which are difficult to achieve without the motivation of need which the social studies supply.

The social studies provide opportunity for much meaningful

reading as children seek for information. Materials read must be organized and the information used in discussion, reports, and other language activities. No better means of evaluating comprehension has been devised than evidence of how well a child is able to apply the material read. His reading in social studies develops his reading vocabulary by introducing him to new words. To read effectively, he must master the use of the table of contents, the index, and the reading of maps, simple charts, and graphs. His wider reading also creates a need for learning dictionary skills.

As important as the motivation to acquire reading skills which the social studies provide is the stimulation to wide reading which social studies engender. In one sixth grade in a school with extensive library resources, fifty trade books on aviation were supplied in connection with a study which occupied half of the school year. The books represented a wide range of reading difficulty, so each child was able to select books he could read successfully. The average number of books read per child was fifteen. Reading tests given at the beginning and at the end of the study of aviation showed growth in reading ability beyond normal expectation for every child in the group.

The social studies contribute to increased proficiency in writing. Children encounter meaningful situations which require using a good business letter form and occasions requiring thank-you letters as well. Creative writing of stories and poems is an expected outcome of any social-studies unit which has been taught in such a way as to stimulate the imagination and help children identify themselves with the persons and events studied. Writing of reports, taking notes, and outlining are needed here. In the process of preparing written material, children have opportunity to use what they have learned about sentence and paragraph construction and punctuation. The manuscript handwriting usually learned in the primary grades is maintained and improved as children find this skill useful in lettering on bulletin boards, maps, charts, and books. New words found in reading and needed in writing add to the proficiency of the children in spelling; frequently class charts as well as individual spelling lists are kept of the new words acquired during the exploration of a social-studies unit.

Good oral expression requires experiences which the children

wish to talk about. Conversation goes on quite naturally in connection with social studies in the modern classroom during construction, industrial arts, and dramatic play. More formal discussion is carried on while making plans, raising questions, stating problems, making decisions, exchanging information, and evaluating ideas. When a group of children is working on some broad area in social studies, need arises for making brief talks and reports on interviews, trips, and related reading.

Many situations in the social studies provide insightful experiences with arithmetic. Children have need to use units of measure—inch, foot, yard—in construction: in making costumes and stage sets, time lines, and murals; and in many other situations. The ruler and yardstick become indispensable tools. Making a time line or map provides opportunity to put to use learnings about reducing to scale. Plans must be made to scale for all construction. The cost of materials must be figured. Buying and selling, figuring freight costs, and similar activities are needed according to the particular unit being studied. Other measurements, such as quart, gallon, and bushel, are used in a wider variety of situations, as are measurements of weight, distance, and time.

Many of these needs may first arise in the social studies and be carried over to the skills period in the school program. The social studies do not take the place of the regular periods provided for instruction in arithmetic and the language arts. When the children have already encountered these skills as a part of their instruction in arithmetic or the language arts, they are gratified to find practical application in social studies and to see meaning in their learning.

Social Studies: The Integrating Center of the Curriculum

Since the school has a social purpose, the content of the curriculum must be chiefly concerned with man and his society. The units of work which constitute the curriculum of the elementary school must relate to various aspects of social life of the past, the present, or the future and to the phenomena of nature. This content constitutes the integrating center of the curriculum. Reading, writing, and the other skills are necessary tools used in learning about man and nature. These skills together with music, art, literature,

dramatics, rhythms, and the like provide the pupils with means of giving expression to the appreciations they acquire. Thus the skills, the social studies, science, and the expressive arts have a reciprocal relationship to each other, and because of this relationship each realizes its most educative potentialities. Each type of experience the school provides is important in its own right and contributes to the development of personality, but no subject can make its proper contribution in isolation. Skills and processes are important only in relation to individual and social purposes.

Emphasis on integration of the school program does not imply disregard for the school subjects. There is need for systematic practice in each useful skill. Definite time must be allotted in the school program for mastering the skills and for experience in the arts. No worth-while learning need be sacrificed in a program which emphasizes helping children see relationships. On the contrary, increased appreciation of the values and improved command of the techniques of all subjects should result when they are continually used to further socially motivated activities. The academic skills are not ends in themselves but means by which an individual attains an education. The motivation for mastering the skills should come from the child's desire to use them in carrying on group and social activities. Teachers should not think of social studies as a subject-matter field but rather as a broad area of experience which serves to help children relate skills, arts, social sciences, and physical and biological sciences into one unified learning experience which has meaning for them.

CHAPTER VI

The Organization of the Elementary-School Social-Studies Curriculum

DOROTHY MCCLURE FRASER

Curriculum Organization and the Aims of Instruction

The organization that is selected for the social-studies curriculum in the elementary school is a means to an end. The end consists of pupils' achievement of agreed-upon goals of social-studies instruction. Thoughtful teachers and other curriculum-workers will recognize that to examine organization in isolation from purposes is futile. The facts and issues discussed in this chapter, therefore, must constantly be related to and evaluated in terms of social-studies goals. They must be evaluated also in the light of the factors that make a given curriculum organization effective or ineffective in a particular situation, including such factors as the characteristics of learners, the resources available for the program, and the experience and attitudes of the teaching staff.

To recognize curriculum organization as a means rather than an end in itself is not to derogate its significance to the learning situation. Most teachers at work in the classroom will agree with Burton that, "The type of curriculum organization is, next probably to the ability and personality of the teacher, the most potent factor in determining how teaching and learning proceed."¹ The principles accepted as a basis for organizing the curriculum determine the selection and placement of content. They affect the nature of procedures and activities carried on in the classroom. The structure of

1. William H. Burton, "Implications for Organization of Instruction and Instructional Adjuncts," *Learning and Instruction*, p. 224. Forty-ninth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part I. Chicago: Distributed by the University of Chicago Press, 1950.

the social-studies curriculum may facilitate or impede the child's social learnings—his establishment of relationships and development of insights concerning his social world as he attempts to relate it, at an increasingly mature level, to other people and things in it.

Despite consensus on the importance of an effective organization for the social-studies curriculum, there is great variance in practice and also in opinion as to what constitutes such organization. The principle of local control of schools makes this condition inevitable. Variety is desirable, also, in the eyes of those who envision successful curriculum development as a co-operative process involving the school staff, students, and community representatives—that is, the variety is welcome to the extent that it results from efforts to plan a curriculum with reference to the needs of a given situation.

Three general patterns of organization for elementary-school social studies are commonly found. They are: (a) separate subject curriculum (history, geography, civics taught as separate subjects, with or without correlation with other subjects); (b) fusion of the social-studies subjects (content drawn from the various social-studies subjects and organized into blocks of work that are usually focused on topics, geographic areas, chronological periods, or problems; and (c) integrative curriculum (content drawn from any subject, without regard to lines between subjects or content fields, and organized into blocks of work).

Few if any programs fit exactly into one of these categories. The distinction between a separate subject and a social-studies fusion curriculum, or between the fusion type and the integrative curriculum, is hard to establish with precision. Or in a given school, the third-grade social studies may provide an excellent illustration of an integrative curriculum pattern and be followed in the fourth grade by a separate-subject organization. Despite all such qualifications, however, an elementary-school social-studies program or segments of the program will probably fit more readily into one of the described curriculum patterns than into the others.

Patterns of Organization for Elementary Social Studies

In many school systems one kind of organization is used for the social-studies program at the primary level, another in the inter-

mediate grades. In examining practice and trends, therefore, the primary and intermediate levels must be considered separately.

EXISTING PATTERNS

In the primary grades, social-studies fusion and the integrative curriculum, which draws upon all subject fields, are the predominant patterns of organization. Hodgson, in a questionnaire study completed in 1953, found that these patterns were employed by 91 per cent of 113 city school systems in Grades I and II and by 88 per cent of 118 city systems in Grade III.² These forms of organization were also reported for Grade I by 100 per cent of 22 state departments of education that participated in the Hodgson study, while all but one of 23 state departments indicated that these forms prevailed in Grades II and III.³ In a study completed in 1954, Duffey questioned 538 elementary teachers and student teachers, graduates or students of Temple University, most of whom were teaching in Pennsylvania or New Jersey.⁴ He found the same predominance of social-studies fusion and integrative programs in the primary grades. Of 227 primary teachers, 27.3 per cent reported a social-studies fusion program, while an additional 56.8 per cent included science materials in the fusion of social studies to provide a social studies-science core for the primary curriculum. Likewise, other subject fields were fused with social studies, as indicated in Table 1.

Early in 1956, fourteen elementary supervisors, curriculum coordinators, and specialists in social-studies education gave their impressions concerning the prevailing practices in organization of elementary-school social-studies programs.⁵ They were located in various parts of the nation and, through their work, were familiar

2. Frank Milton Hodgson, "Organization and Content of the Social-Studies Curriculum," p. 143. Unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1953.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 118.

4. Robert V. Duffey, "A Study of the Reported Practices of 538 Temple University Graduates and Students in Their Teaching of Social Studies in the Elementary School," pp. 91-92. Unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, Temple University, 1954.

5. Unpublished survey conducted by the writer.

TABLE 1

PERCENTAGE OF ELEMENTARY-SCHOOL TEACHERS WHO REPORTED FUSION OF VARIOUS CURRICULAR AREAS WITH SOCIAL STUDIES "ALL THE TIME OR AT EVERY OPPORTUNITY" *

CURRICULAR AREA	PERCENTAGE OF TEACHERS	
	Primary-grade Teachers (277)	Intermediate-grade Teachers (278)
Art	65.0	58.0
Language arts	63.0	51.8
Arts and crafts	53.3	50.0
Health	47.1	27.0
Music	46.7	27.7
Mathematics	37.4	23.8
Physical education	36.6	23.8

* Adapted from Robert V. Duffey, "A Study of the Reported Practices of 538 Temple University Graduates and Students in Their Teaching of Social Studies in the Elementary School," pp. 110 and 111. Unpublished Ed. D. dissertation, Temple University, 1954.

with the schools of their areas. For the primary grades, seven reported the predominance of social-studies fusion programs, three indicated that social studies were included in the integrative curriculum units, while four reported a variety of practices ranging from separate subjects to an integrative curriculum.

Analysis of social-studies programs in the intermediate grades indicates that a majority of schools continue to use curriculum patterns involving the study of materials drawn from more than one of the social sciences and fused around topics or problem centers. The proportion of schools, however, that employs a subject organization in the intermediate grades is greater than at the primary level. Hodgson, for example, found that the percentage of city school systems teaching social studies by separate subjects varied from 11.3 per cent in Grade III to 41.73 per cent in Grade VI.⁶ The state departments of education included in his study reported the same shift from fusion to subject organization for the social studies between the primary and intermediate grades.⁷

Duffey, who reported that only 6.1 per cent of the primary-teacher respondents in his study used a subject organization for social-studies materials, found that this was the practice in 17 per

6. Hodgson, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 118.

cent of 278 intermediate-grade respondents. As compared with 56.8 per cent of the primary teachers who fused science with social studies, only 36.3 per cent of the intermediate-grade teachers did so.⁸ His data, drawn upon for Table 1, also reveal a drop from the primary to the intermediate grades in the percentage of teachers who reported that they fused other curricular areas with the social studies.

The fourteen specialists cited above indicated a similar change from the primary to the intermediate grades. Nine of them reported considerable or general use of separate subjects in intermediate-grade social-studies programs in schools of their respective geographic regions, although seven indicated that fusion programs were widely used. Only two specialists indicated any considerable use of the integrative curriculum pattern in the intermediate grades.

From the foregoing data it seems clear that in most schools social studies are taught in the primary grades through a curriculum organization based on fusion of subject fields. As the child advances to higher-grade levels, the likelihood that he will study history, geography, and civics separately increases. Nevertheless, a majority of schools employ some degree of fusion in organizing the social-studies program for the intermediate grades.

TRENDS IN ORGANIZATION

Current practice in the general organization of elementary social-studies programs represents no break with the past. Harap⁹ and Leary¹⁰ analyzed courses of study in the mid-1930's; each reported that more than half of those examined combined elements drawn from the various social sciences instead of organizing those elements as separate subjects. Turner, comparing elementary-school social-studies courses of study published from 1917 to 1939, found "... a decided trend away from the presentation of history and geography

8. Duffey, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

9. Henry Harap, "A Survey of Courses of Study Published in the Last Two Years," *Journal of Educational Research*, XXVIII (May, 1935), 641-56.

10. Bernice E. Leary, *A Survey of Courses of Study and Other Curriculum Materials Published Since 1934*, p. 59. United States Office of Education Bulletin, No. 31, 1937. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1937.

as separate subjects in the elementary school.”¹¹ Preston, in 1943, reported a substantial body of experimentation with fusion courses in the elementary social studies.¹² Thus, the predominance today of the fusion pattern of organization represents an expanding trend that has been discernable for at least two decades.

Hodgson inquired, in his survey, as to changes that had been made in the organization of social-studies programs during the preceding five years. Respondents from more than half of the cities included in the study indicated that major changes in content and/or organization had been made. Those involving organization indicated a trend away from separate subjects in the direction of the unified forms of organization. Thus, some had moved toward closer correlation of subjects, some toward a fusion organization, and some toward greater use of functional units involving materials drawn from any of the social sciences. Slightly less than half of the respondents from state departments of education reported major changes in the same period. Those who so replied indicated a trend away from the emphasis on subjects and toward forms of organization that placed more emphasis on the psychological needs of the learner.¹³ The respondent from one state said, for example, “There have been no radical changes. There has been an increased emphasis upon the further development of an integrated program in social studies.” Another reported the following changes:

1. More emphasis upon work around large enterprises
2. More emphasis on areas of interest to children requiring history, geography, science, etc., *vs.* content of an isolated subject
3. Much emphasis on present problems of children
4. Procedures placing more emphasis on pupil planning, discussion, research, and organization

Respondents in the Hodgson study were asked to state any plans for changing the social-studies curriculum in the immediate future. Thirteen city systems reported plans for change in organization.

11. Charles S. Turner, “Changing Content in Elementary Social Studies,” *Social Education*, V (December, 1941), 600-603.

12. Ralph C. Preston, “An Appraisal of Fusion of Social Studies in the Elementary School,” *Elementary School Journal*, LXIV (December, 1943), 205-7.

13. Hodgson, *op. cit.*, pp. 297-300.

With one exception, these plans involved movement toward a fusion or integrative program. When asked to say what changes they would wish to see made in the organizational pattern for elementary social studies, the statements of the respondents showed that the great majority were in sympathy with the trend toward more unified forms of organization.¹⁴

Besides circularizing elementary-school teachers, Duffey polled 23 specialists in elementary social studies to learn their recommendations as to the organization of the social-studies programs. None favored a subject organization, either separate or correlated. Fusion within the social-studies area or a social studies-science fusion was recommended by over three-fourths of them, and there was a preponderance of opinion in the group in favor of drawing upon other curriculum areas at least to some extent.¹⁵

The social studies-science fusion seems to represent an accelerating trend. Duffey's evidence, that more than half the primary teachers and more than one-third of the intermediate teachers questioned said they fused science content with social studies, would suggest that this broader fusion is gaining ground. Responses from the fourteen specialists cited above indicate that there is widespread fusion of science and social-studies content in the primary grades, for over half of them reported that most schools in their region followed this practice. In the intermediate grades, however, they found much less fusion of science and social studies. An example of a social studies-science program developed from kindergarten through the sixth grade is found in the curriculum guide published by the Missouri State Department of Education. In that program, content drawn from science and health is specifically included in a majority of the units recommended for each grade level.¹⁶

The development of a social studies-science fusion for the elementary grades has much to recommend it. In the modern world, societal developments and problems are inevitably affected by science and technology—and vice versa. Lack of scientific literacy

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 149, 318, 326, 329.

15. Duffey, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-90, 107-8.

16. *Missouri's Elementary Curriculum Guide, Grades One-Six*, p. 62. Publication No. 100. Jefferson City: State Board of Education, 1955.

on the part of the general public, or a failure to relate scientific and social knowledge, is a handicap to social progress in a society dominated by technology. Many of the social-studies topics that are included in the elementary-school curriculum involve aspects of science and will be better understood by pupils if those aspects are studied in relation to the social-studies content. Teachers who wish to move from a subject organization to a broader unified program will find in the social studies-science core a useful approach.

A considerable body of evidence exists to demonstrate the advantages of a curriculum pattern based on the psychological needs of the learner rather than on the logical demands of systematized areas of knowledge. Numerous studies and experiments, several of which were summarized by Preston,¹⁷ have indicated definitely if not conclusively that, as compared with separate subject programs, organizational patterns providing for fusion of the social-studies subjects facilitate superior learning. Findings indicate that such unified programs have resulted in greater social learnings in the areas of attitudes and skills as well as in comprehension and retention of subject matter.

In view of the evidence of the effectiveness of the more unified forms of curriculum organization and considering the accumulated reservoir of experience in handling them, it seems clear that in a functional elementary-school social-studies program separate subjects have little place. Rather, social-studies materials, along with pertinent content drawn from other subject fields, should be organized around topics or problem centers. The trend toward teaching elementary-school social studies through a fusion or an integrative curriculum seems likely to develop with continuing acceleration. In the judgment of many social-studies specialists, including the writer, this is a healthy trend that should be encouraged.

Establishing Scope and Sequence for Elementary Social-Studies Programs

The twentieth century has seen a variety of approaches used to determine scope and sequence for various curricular areas. The

17. Preston, *op. cit.*

reader who has followed efforts to improve educational programs in American schools over the past three or four decades needs no reminder of this fact. He will remember that through these years the elementary school took on new functions and, of necessity, expanded its curriculum to carry them out. As it did so, the series of separate subjects that had previously provided the framework for the child's learning experiences, although persisting in the intermediate grades particularly, has increasingly been recognized as inadequate and inappropriate.

To find a more acceptable framework, curriculum-planners have turned to analysis of areas of living, social functions, social processes, persistent life situations, developmental tasks, or some combination and adaptation of these to establish the scope of the child's experiences in school. Frequently, they have developed lists of concepts or generalizations, about which the child should gain a deeper and richer understanding as he progresses from grade to grade, and lists of values and skills in which he should show growth. To provide a learnable, effective sequence from year to year through the school program, curriculum-planners have selected centers of interest or themes that seem appropriate for given age groups and that seem to provide for the child's learning in the areas designated in the statement of scope. Themes or centers of interest are arranged according to some organizing idea, such as expanding geographic areas—from the known and close-at-hand to the unknown and far-away. Of all curricular areas, the social studies is likely to be most directly affected by such arrangements for determining scope and sequence.

Plans for Establishing Scope

Basic social functions, the functions that must be discharged to meet human needs, have been used in many school systems to define the scope of elementary social-studies programs since this scheme was employed in the Virginia curriculum-development program in the early 1930's. The helpfulness of this approach in determining scope is indicated in its continued use by social-studies curriculum-committees into the 1950's. The scope of the current elementary-school social-studies programs in Seattle (Washington) and San Francisco (California), for example, has been established in part in

terms of social functions.¹⁸ In Los Angeles County the committees which developed the social-studies program have defined the scope of the program in terms of "... universal human needs, the social functions through which they are met, and the part that each plays in human life."¹⁹ State-wide committees working over a period of years to develop Missouri's curriculum guide utilized the following statement of social functions to establish the scope of the social studies-science curriculum cited above:²⁰

Protecting life and health. Conserving and utilizing the physical environment. Understanding the relationships among people. Understanding the role of growth in education. Cultivating and nurturing moral and spiritual growth. Stimulating aesthetic interest and expression.

Frequently curriculum-planners have utilized statements of social processes, activities that individuals and groups must perform in daily living, along with lists of social functions to define the scope of the elementary-school social-studies curriculum. Thus, in the San Francisco program such processes as the following are used:²¹

Processes involved in utilizing values as determiners of choice. Processes involved in thinking. Processes involved in communicating. Processes involved in working with others and being worked with. Processes involved in making a vocational contribution.

18. For descriptions of these programs, see Chester D. Babcock and Emlyn D. Jones, "Social Processes and Persistent Problems" and Mabel Delevan and Others, "Program Based on Social Functions and Processes," *Social Education of Young Children: Kindergarten-Primary Grades*, pp. 75-80, 87-110. Curriculum Series No. 4, National Council for the Social Studies. Washington: National Council for the Social Studies, 1956 (second revised edition); Chester D. Babcock and Emlyn D. Jones, "The Seattle Program: A Program Based on Social Functions, Social Processes, and Persistent Problems of Living," and John U. Michaelis, "The San Francisco Program: A Program Based on Social Functions and Social Processes," *Social Studies for Older Children: Programs for Grades Four, Five, and Six*, pp. 63-75. Curriculum Series No. 5, National Council for the Social Studies. Washington: National Council for the Social Studies, 1953.

19. *Educating the Children of Los Angeles County: A Course of Study for Elementary Schools*, p. 83. Los Angeles: Office of the County Superintendent of Schools, 1955.

20. *Missouri's Elementary Curriculum Guide*, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

21. From the description of the San Francisco program given in *Social Studies for Older Children*, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

A more recently developed approach is that of using persistent life situations to define the scope of a curriculum area.²² In this approach, the daily experiences of individuals, as they carry on activities in the home and community, at work and play, and as they meet spiritual and aesthetic needs, are analyzed to identify those problem situations which recur many times in one form or another. Such situations involving social learning become one measure for establishing the scope of the social-studies program.²³ The committees which recently developed a guide for elementary social studies in the schools of Newark (New Jersey), for example, adapted the ideas suggested by Stratemeyer to describe the scope of their program in terms of the following areas in which growth is needed to meet persistent life situations:²⁴

Individual competencies: critical thinking, communication of ideas, work-study skills and methods. Social participation: person-to-person relations, group membership, intergroup relations. Ability to deal with environmental factors and forces: adaptation to environment, conservation of resources, democratic way of life, interdependence of man, moral and spiritual values.

In Wilmington (Delaware), teacher committees used the following problem areas to help define and organize the school experiences of boys and girls: We learn about ourselves. We learn how groups function. We learn about our world. We develop the skills and tools we need.²⁵ Each problem area was described in terms of needs of children at successive levels of maturity.

PLANS FOR ESTABLISHING SEQUENCE

Sequence for social-studies programs was once thought of solely

22. See Florence Stratemeyer, Hamden Forkner, and Margaret McKim, *Developing a Curriculum for Modern Living*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1947.

23. For an example of a primary-grade program based on persistent problems, see May Devereus and Others, "Program Based on Persistent Problems, Bowerman School, Springfield, Missouri," *Social Education of Young Children*, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-86.

24. *Social Studies in Our Schools: A Guide to Improvement of Instruction in the Elementary School*. Newark, New Jersey: Board of Education, 1954.

25. *Opening Doors: A Social Studies Bulletin*, charts i and ii. Wilmington, Delaware: Wilmington Public Schools, 1954.

in terms of content and was determined largely by chronology, moving from ancient times toward the modern period. Few elementary schools today plan sequence in terms of chronology, although Hodgson found that almost one-third of the respondents from the cities in his study indicated that they used chronology as a "principle of internal organization" for the social-studies offerings in the fifth and sixth grades.²⁶ The most widely used plan for establishing sequence of content in elementary social-studies programs is that of expanding geographic areas, or expanding areas of experience. Under this plan the child begins in the kindergarten and first grade with study of his home and school, then moves out to the community, the state, the nation, and finally the world. Hodgson found, among the city systems included in his survey, an "overwhelming preference" for the expanding environment or cycle plan as a scheme of internal organization of the social-studies program.²⁷ Every recent curriculum bulletin or guide for elementary-school social studies examined by the present writer utilizes to some extent this plan for establishing sequence, although there is variation from one program to another in the implementation of the plan and the use of other determinants with it.

The expanding-environment approach has been defended as providing a psychological, as opposed to a logical, basis for the sequential arrangement of content and, so, as being more learnable for children. It emphasizes direct experiences and concrete learnings in the primary years and moves into a higher proportion of vicarious experiences and abstract learnings for the older child. Undoubtedly such a plan in the hands of an imaginative, energetic teacher can make social-studies content more meaningful than a sequence based on chronology or a series of separate subjects. Yet there are some questions to be raised as to the validity of the expanding-geographic-areas approach if it is adhered to rigidly. Do children really move from home to school to community to state to nation to world in their experiences? Or do not most of them push out the frontiers of their experience irregularly, jumping via television, radio, and other experiences from home to foreign lands and back to distant

26. Hodgson, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 176.

parts of their own nation, perhaps before they ever go to school? Fathers and brothers who return home from military service with stories and souvenirs from far-away countries contribute to this irregular, haphazard, but perfectly normal expansion of experience. Motion pictures, vacation trips, and moving about with parents as the family changes its residence have an impact. These and many other factors in our fast-moving modern world cause a child's horizons to be considerably wider and to expand in directions unthought of a generation or two ago. The principle of selecting and arranging learning experiences in terms of children's experiential backgrounds remains valid. Implementation of the principle requires a realistic appraisal of the experiences and needs of today's children.

In an effort to meet this situation and to provide for well-rounded growth, modern curriculum-planners have looked for ways of providing sequence in other aspects of learning besides knowledge of factual information. In addition to—or sometimes in place of—devices for providing sequence in terms of definite content, they are concerned with continuity in the development of basic concepts, values, and skills. These organizing elements, when utilized along with attention to children's interests and purposes, can provide more flexible and more functional guides to sequence in the social-studies program than can a preplanned arrangement of content. Curriculum committees in Los Angeles County, for example, identified twelve basic generalizations toward the understanding of which all elementary-school social-studies work should be directed. Selected aspects of these generalizations were suggested for specific development at the various grade levels.²⁸ In Port Arthur, Texas, one dimension of sequence was provided through agreement that given social-studies skills, selected on the basis of appropriateness for a given age group, would be emphasized at particular grade levels.²⁹

Developing sequence that is meaningful to children does not pre-

28. *Educating the Children of Los Angeles County*, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-82, 94, 98, 102, 107, 113, 118, 123.

29. George F. Gray, "Port Arthur, Texas, Social-Studies Program for Grades Seven to Nine," *Social Studies for Young Adolescents: Programs for Grades Seven, Eight, and Nine*, pp. 60-62. Curriculum Series No. Six, National Council for the Social Studies. Washington: National Council for the Social Studies, 1951.

clude broad, flexible, and tentative preplanning for content as well as for growth in skills and values. The issue is not content *vs.* no content, nor is it preplanning *vs.* no preplanning by the teacher and the total school staff. It should be recognized that some curricular framework is necessary for an effective teaching-learning program, whether in social studies or in other fields of instruction. Content areas or themes can be blocked out, along with provision for continuity in the development of skills, values, and concepts, without hampering the creative teacher. For the teacher who is less well prepared or less imaginative in approach, the existence of a guiding framework which is stated in terms of skills, values, and concepts along with suggested content areas may make the difference between effective and ineffective work with children. In our efforts to eliminate the rigidly planned, content-centered social-studies program which may make little sense to children, we need not fall into the opposite trap—a program so unplanned, using content so insignificant and unrelated that it, too, will make little sense for the learner.

SCOPE AND SEQUENCE OF CONTENT IN SOCIAL-STUDIES PROGRAMS

Since the expanding-environment or expanding-geographic-areas plan for establishing sequence in content selection is predominant, it is not surprising that centers of interest assigned to given grades in elementary social-studies programs show considerable similarity from one school to another and from one part of the country to another. Table 2 summarizes recent research concerning the themes and topics commonly utilized at each grade level in social-studies programs today.

These findings are not materially different from those reported by Burress,³⁰ who studied twenty-one courses of study issued between 1946 and 1950, or Wesley and Adams, whose most recent listing was published in 1952.³¹ Nevertheless, examination of courses of study issued since 1953 and statements from the fourteen specialists cited above indicate that some gradual changes are taking

30. Robert N. Burress, "A Desirable Social-Studies Curriculum for the Middle Grades," pp. 66-67. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, George Peabody College for Teachers, 1951.

31. Edgar B. Wesley and Mary A. Adams, *Teaching Social Studies in Elementary Schools*, pp. 44-46. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1952 (revised edition).

TABLE 2

COMMONEST SUBJECT MATTER IN ELEMENTARY SOCIAL-STUDIES PROGRAMS *

Commonest Offerings	As Found by Both Preston and Hodgson	As Found by Preston Only	As Found by Hodgson Only
Grade I	Home, school, pets	Farm life	
Grade II	Community helpers	Transportation	Farm life, pets
Grade III	Food, clothing, and shelter	Community; other communities; transportation; communication; Indians	
Grade IV	Type regions of world; U.S. history; community	State	Indians, Eskimos
Grade V	U.S. geography; U.S. history	Latin America; Canada	
Grade VI	Latin America; Canada; Asia; Europe	World geography; old world backgrounds; transportation; communication	

* From Ralph C. Preston, *Teaching Social Studies in the Elementary School*, chap. iii. New York: Rinehart & Co. (revision in preparation).

place in the content areas assigned to each grade level as well as in the topics suggested for implementation of the grade-level themes.

For the kindergarten and Grades I and II, the theme of "home, school, and community" is almost universally utilized. In the kindergarten the emphasis continues to be placed on group living, holidays, getting acquainted with the school, and exploring the immediate neighborhood. In Los Angeles County it is suggested that a beginning be made in studying "Workers who help us at home, at school, and in the neighborhood."³² The guide developed by curriculum committees in Aberdeen (South Dakota) moved somewhat away from the customary pattern for the kindergarten to include some study of community helpers and transportation as well as more customary materials on home, school, and holidays.³³

32. *Educating the Children of Los Angeles County*, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-87.

33. "Learning through Action: A Guide Book for Social Studies," Part I, "Kindergarten-Primary Area." Aberdeen, South Dakota: Public Schools, 1954 (mimeographed).

There seems to be an increasing tendency to treat aspects of the "community-helpers" theme throughout the Kindergarten-Grade II sequence, rather than concentrating this material in one year, and to focus on services people need and use rather than on the "helpers" themselves. Playground attendants, ministers, doctors, nurses, dentists, and shoe repairmen may be studied along with the milkman, the postal worker, and the policeman. Units on the farm and aspects of transportation and communication continue to be used in the sequence from kindergarten through Grade II.

Specific attention is given to safety in the Kindergarten-Grade II sequence, often through "units" or "interests" on "How people meet their health and safety needs," "Learning to grow healthfully and to practice safety," "Safety in the home," or "Safety on the farm." Often some science elements are woven into these health and safety units. Other science experiences commonly suggested in connection with social studies are study of the weather, seasonal changes and their effects on ways of living, and plants and animals of the immediate area. Aspects of conservation are sometimes brought into such experiences. Science information related to transportation and communication is frequently included, also.

Holidays and other special days, once the major social-studies content in the first school years, continue to be celebrated. Other long-used approaches to the development of understanding and acceptance of national traditions continue to be employed. They include studying about the flag and its symbolism, learning and reciting the pledge of allegiance, and hearing stories of great Americans of the past and present.

In Grade III a continuation of the community study which is begun as early as the kindergarten seems likely to become the predominant theme in place of the "food-clothing-shelter" theme carried out through culture units. However, any change from the content previously followed at this level may be less drastic than the change in statement of the theme would suggest. In some cases the community is studied through investigation of the ways in which basic human needs are met within the home community and then in other communities. The "basic needs" are likely to be limited to those for food, clothing, and shelter, although in some cases it is suggested that others such as recreational, educational, and religious

needs be considered. Sometimes attention is given to conservation of natural resources in connection with the food, clothing, and shelter units.

The "other communities" studied in Grade III may be contemporary and within the United States, or they may be remote in time and/or space. Study of Indians continues to appear at this level with some frequency. Sometimes the topic is recommended as an example of a primitive, "simple" culture in which the basic needs must be met; in this case, other "culture units" dealing with far-away lands may also be included. In some cases the community study in Grade III involves a historical approach. Then, Indians are likely to be studied as part of the investigation of the community's past, with a block of work on colonial or pioneer life following.

Perhaps the most definite change that is occurring in content placement in elementary social-studies programs is in Grade IV. More recent curriculum guides and the reports of specialists indicate that study of the state, or of "the community within the state," is winning considerable popularity. However, study of type regions, which has long served to introduce formal geography at this level, persists in many schools. In a number of cases there seems to be a compromise, with attention to both the home state and various regions of the world. Thus, the suggested program for Grade IV in Newark (New Jersey) begins with study of "other communities" in New Jersey and of the history of the state and concludes with geographic units on the Netherlands, the Belgian Congo, the Arabian Desert, and the Far North.³⁴

In Grade V, while content drawn from the history and geography of the United States is usually treated, there is no general agreement as to whether the emphasis shall be historical or geographic, and whether other parts of the Americas shall be studied along with the United States. One arrangement includes study of the earlier periods of the national history (discovery, exploration, settlement, and westward movement) along with attention to the economic geography of the various regions. Another utilizes study of the regions as the framework, starting with ways of earning a living in each region today and drawing in historical background. The

34. *Social Studies in Our Schools*, *op. cit.*

United States and Canada, the United States and its neighbors to the north and south, and the United States and the other American lands today are other arrangements of content that are found in Grade V.

The almost universal use of United States history content in Grade V undoubtedly reflects legislative or other legal requirements for the teaching of the national history in the elementary school as well as a traditional curriculum arrangement inherited from the nineteenth century. Hodgson found that, of 40 cities having local legal requirements for the study of United States history in the elementary school, 57.5 per cent required it in Grade V.³⁵ A survey conducted by the Research Division of the National Education Association in 1953 indicated that 18 states had statutory or regulatory provisions for the teaching of American history and government that would almost certainly affect the intermediate grades. An additional 21 states have adopted provisions such as those requiring instruction in American history to begin not later than Grade VIII, making it mandatory for all elementary schools to teach United States and state history and civics.³⁶

More variation exists in the content placed in the sixth grade. There is fairly even division between study of the western hemisphere continued from Grade V and study of the eastern hemisphere with emphasis on Europe. Where the focus is on Europe, considerable historical content is included along with some geography. One specialist, for example, reported that the most frequently studied topics in the sixth-grade classes in her geographic area were: prehistoric times; Europe and the Middle East, yesterday and today. It seems significant that specialists reported this historical emphasis as current practice much more frequently than it was recommended in recent curriculum bulletins. The "old-world-backgrounds" material, once so generally taught in the intermediate grades, apparently persists in many schools, probably modified by fusion with

35. Hodgson, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

36. "Statutory and Regulatory Provisions for the Teaching of American History and Government." Information Bulletin of Research Division of the National Education Association, August, 1953 (mimeographed).

geographic content. A third arrangement found in Grade VI uses "world geography" as the basic content. In some cases this seems to be the traditional country-by-country examination of physical features, products, and so on. In others it involves the study of selected regions and comparisons with appropriate regions of the United States. If the United Nations is studied in the elementary-school program, it is found most frequently in the fifth or sixth grade, usually in connection with the interest of the United States in world affairs.

Writing in 1941, Turner noted some trend toward placing "general" topics, such as transportation, communication, inventions, arts of man, and money and trade, in Grades V and VI as substitutes for the history and geography previously studied there.³⁷ Today such topics are found in a few programs, but the overwhelming emphasis continues to be on historical and geographic materials.

EVALUATION OF PREVAILING SCOPE AND SEQUENCE OF CONTENT IN SOCIAL-STUDIES PROGRAMS

In evaluating the scope and sequence of content in a social-studies program, the teacher and curriculum-maker must always return to two questions: Are the themes and the topics within themes appropriate to the levels at which they are placed? Are the topics chosen to implement the themes useful and significant for children living in mid-twentieth-century America? To neither question, of course, can the answer be a simple "yes" or "no," for the factors to be considered (maturity of the group, previous experiences, local conditions, trends in national and international affairs) evoke different answers in different situations. Nevertheless, some evaluation of the significance of content currently in general use can be made.

As an over-all framework, the themes most frequently used at each grade level seem appropriate, if they are implemented in a flexible manner that takes into account the various factors mentioned in the preceding paragraph and the considerations of sequence sug-

37. Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 603.

gested above. The trend away from the traditional culture units and type region studies in Grades III and IV, and toward themes that can be implemented through a high proportion of direct experiences, represents a positive gain. The value of such a change, however, will be in direct relation to the extent that the new themes of expanded community and home state are handled through topics and methods that provide fresh, stimulating experiences. As one social-studies specialist has put it, "The payoff really comes in the way topics are developed at each grade level, how comprehensive and complete they are, how they are related to life situations, and whether or not real continuity exists from one level to another."

A major problem in the handling of the commonly-used themes is that, in an effort to provide a program grounded in the child's experience, the content presented may be unduly restricted. It may become repetitious and lacking in challenge. One social-studies specialist recently commented that in elementary-school social-studies programs there is often "excessive attention to the here and now," especially in the primary grades. Another observed that in practice, current social-studies instruction may tend to hold primary-grade children back in relation to their own experience and to duplicate experiences from one grade to another.

Kern and Fair report how one kindergarten class developed a social-studies program around the experiences and interests of the children, utilizing particularly their television viewing.³⁸ The result was the study of a series of topics that went considerably beyond the social-studies experiences typically offered to kindergarteners. Some of the questions studied were: Who owns the flag? How is our flag different from other flags? Americans we know. Americans are not all alike. Americans help each other. Americans choose their leaders. Some things belong to many people. Everyone owns something. Americans have rules.

Evidence collected through interviews with 70 second-graders and reported by McAulay supports the view that content offered to primary-grade children is often pitched below a challenging

38. Stella Kern and Jean Fair, "Teachers and Children Improve the Curriculum," *Improving the Social-Studies Curriculum*, pp. 86-91. Twenty-sixth Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies. Washington: National Council for the Social Studies, 1955.

level.³⁹ He found that, as a result of watching television, taking vacation trips, and engaging in the ordinary activities of their lives, these children had already gained experience "... beyond the content of the unit on the interdependence of farm and city ..." that they would study in the second-grade program. Ninety per cent of the children already had considerable information about the work of firemen and policemen, although they would devote a unit of study to each of these "community helpers." It seems likely that these findings are typical of many primary-grade children in the United States today.

A related problem in the development of the predominant grade-level themes is the sudden jump found in many schools at Grade IV, from a light fact-load, direct-experience treatment of topics in the primary grades to the more abstract, heavily factual materials used in the intermediate grades. Although the transition to greater use of vicarious experiences might be facilitated by the abandonment of culture units and units on type regions in favor of study of the larger community, the state, and the region, the crucial factor is the way in which the new themes are dealt with. Living in a given state does not automatically make the topic of state history or state government closer to the experience of a fourth-grader than is the topic of "living in a hot, wet land." The state capitol may be as far away as the Amazon, in terms of the child's experience. A too-heavy fact load and an effort to "cover" too many topics can be as deadly within the new themes as it has been within the old. The new themes simply provide more opportunities than the old for relating the study to the child's experience or for providing direct experiences through which he can gain understanding of the topics. No more is use of the new themes a guarantee of continuity in development of understandings, skills, and values. It provides better opportunities to create such continuity.

The solution to this problem of the abrupt break between the primary and the intermediate grades—from too little to too much—is not to drop potentially desirable themes but, rather, to treat them more appropriately and evenly. To do so requires what Taba

39. John D. McAulay, "What's Wrong with the Social Studies?" *Social Education*, XVI (December, 1952), 377-78.

has called the articulation of content with children's experience rather than with other bits of content per se.⁴⁰ Such articulation must rest on careful study of the particular group of children, their previous experience, and their out-of-school opportunities for social learning. It requires a clearer perception by teachers of the different levels at which a topic can be treated and the selection of the level appropriate for the given class. Finally, it requires that the school staff plan together for sequential development of concepts, skills, and values, so that the third-grade teacher, for example, will not only avoid repetitive treatment of material that has already been studied by his pupils but will also provide readiness experiences for the geography skills that he knows will be emphasized in the fourth grade.

Selection of content for social-studies programs must be evaluated in terms of the significance of the content for understanding and living in the modern world as well as its appropriateness for given age levels. Certain critical areas have been identified by students of mid-twentieth-century American society. (See chap. iii for discussion of significant current social problems.) Many of them are closely interrelated. These problem areas include: the conservation of natural resources in a technological era which is consuming them at previously unheard of rates; the conservation of human resources in a machine-age society, where daily living has become increasingly hazardous in terms of mental strain and physical injury, and where the contribution of each individual is needed in the effort to reach higher levels of cultural as well as economic and political life; the easing of tensions among ethnic, religious, and racial groups in the nation and in the world; the development and maintenance of a healthy economy in an increasingly complex system of production and distribution of goods; the invention of effective approaches to the relief of international tensions and the maintenance of world peace; and, fundamental to all, the achievement of an increasingly high level of citizenship activity on the part of the American people. Problem areas such as these can and are being treated, to greater or lesser extent, in elementary-school

40. Hilda Taba, "An Articulated Social-Studies Curriculum in the Elementary School," *Social Education*, XVII (December, 1953), 369-72.

social-studies programs today. A review of the content commonly placed at each grade level from kindergarten through Grade VI indicates that such topics as safety, conservation of resources, economic relationships, and human relations are being studied in many schools.

To say that significant content *can* be used in developing the grade-level themes which predominate in social-studies programs is not to say that such content *is* always used or, at least, that it is used effectively. There are several conditions that may stand in the way.

Narrow interpretations of the grade-level themes are likely to preclude the use of much content that is both appropriate and significant. Focusing too rigidly on the child's "here and now" may limit his horizons with regard to critical areas of his own culture as well as acquaintance with other peoples of the world. For example, conservation of resources, certainly a problem present in the immediate environment of every child, may not be dealt with if the immediate environment is defined narrowly and superficially. Under the same condition, study of other peoples and parts of the world may be ignored through most of the elementary-school program. The trend away from the culture unit, with its frequently sentimentalized and stereotyped portrayal of other peoples, and the type region study, with its tendency to overemphasize the physical aspects of environment, is healthy. But failure to introduce other more significant materials through which the child can develop basic understandings concerning the peoples and affairs of the world is to encourage provincial attitudes. The development of understandings concerning such problem areas as those mentioned above is not, of course, a matter of learning a given set of facts marked as "significant." But we must recognize that unless children have opportunity to study some content related to a problem, such as improving human relations or maintaining world peace, they cannot grow in understanding of the critical problem area.

Too little attention is probably given, in most elementary-school social-studies programs, to current events or contemporary affairs. Most children today have access to radio, television, daily newspapers, and illustrated news magazines. Such access does not mean that they always comprehend the significance of the events which

they see or hear reported. The fact that children have established familiarity with contemporary events at some level, however, gives an opening that the elementary social-studies teacher can use to establish relationships and expand understandings. Current-events material selected with reference to the maturity and interests of the particular group of children and presented as a regular part of the program may help to stimulate interest in other aspects of the social studies. Richardson found that fifth-graders who chose social studies as a preferred subject had a greater knowledge of current affairs than their classmates who chose other subjects in preference to social studies.⁴¹ Particularly in the intermediate grades, a great deal of significant content can be brought into the social-studies program through study of current affairs.

The persistence of traditional content instead of fresh selection of the most significant material available to implement a given theme or topic may cripple the social-studies program. An obvious illustration of the result of such persistence is the continued lack of attention to the peoples of Asia, Africa, and the Middle East in most elementary social-studies programs; at the same time, nations or regions formerly studied as type regions, such as Switzerland, Holland, and Norway, continue to be included regardless of their relative importance in the modern world. The same persistence of traditional materials can often be found in the treatment of other problem areas.

Finally, understandings related to such important problem areas as those cited do not depend entirely on presentation of significant content. Children must also be helped to use the content to increase their understanding, to draw logical conclusions, and, where possible, to follow through with action. The class that studied soil conservation but took no action to correct a bad erosion situation on the school grounds failed to make significant use of its information. A sixth grade in a city of 50,000, where economic life is dominated by one corporation, made a study of labor unions. One of the pupils drew from his study the conclusion that it would be good for his city if labor unions existed there, but that it would

41. Clarence O. Richardson, *The Relationship between Knowledge of Current News and Preferences for Social Studies on a Fifth-grade Level*, pp. 37-40. Unpublished Ed.M. thesis, Boston University, 1948.

probably be a long time before they would *because of the size of the city*. He had not been helped to interpret and apply his information so as to draw correct conclusions. (One suspects that a hesitant teacher aided in the drawing of an incorrect conclusion, which points up another difficulty in using significant social-studies information significantly.) Greater attention to the application of skills in critical thinking and to the use of problem-solving situations in handling social-studies content can be as important for the social-studies program as selection of significant content.

Organizing Learning Experiences for Classroom Study

Whatever the general curriculum pattern, whatever the plan for determining scope and sequence, the problem of organizing learning experiences within the classroom from day to day remains to be solved. Within the past generation a great proportion of elementary-school teachers, especially at the primary level, have come to use what they call a "unit" organization. Duffey found that 48.1 per cent of 227 primary teachers reported that they used teacher-pupil-planned units as a source of content organization for social studies half of the time or more, and that 30.9 per cent said they used teacher-planned units at least half of the time. At the intermediate-grade level, although the percentages were slightly lower, 40.1 per cent of the teachers again reported use of teacher-pupil-planned units at least half of the time, and 23.6 per cent reported using teacher-planned units to the same extent.⁴² The fourteen specialists cited earlier reported an even stronger emphasis on unit organization. Twelve of them thought almost all schools in their regions were teaching social studies through units in the primary grades. As for the intermediate grades, five of the specialists considered units to be used in almost all schools in their regions, and another seven thought the unit was commonly used to organize social-studies instruction in more than half the schools.

Many quite varied organizations of material may be described as "units," of course. We think at once of the integrative unit drawing on many fields of knowledge, the experience unit in which the major activities involve direct experiences, the problem-centered

42. Duffey, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

unit in which the study is directed at solving a problem, the subject unit in which the major purpose is teaching information about a particular topic, and many variations between and beyond these. There are some teachers, especially at the intermediate-grade level, who speak of "teaching a unit" when they are actually proceeding through a series of daily piecemeal assignments.

The value of the unit as the sole approach for organization of social-studies experiences has been questioned. Some of the dissatisfaction undoubtedly arises from the confusion in the minds of both teachers and children about what constitutes a unit. Some critics of the unit as a form of organization consider it too rigid to be an effective vehicle for the guidance of live learning experiences. Probably in their eyes most units turn out to be subject-centered and to follow formalized procedures.

Other curriculum specialists point out the need to use everyday situations as vehicles for social learning whether or not they are related to the unit study of the moment. Thus, Ellsworth suggests that, "Life is not all lived in units, but also in strands, in interests, in jobs to be done."⁴³ She emphasizes the necessity of keeping a subject open, even though its study in an organized unit may have been completed. Hill warns that if unit study occupies an undue proportion of the elementary-school day, interest may lag. "Reading, writing, talking about, and drawing airplanes at all hours, day after day, can become a monotonous and unrewarding experience."⁴⁴

The answer to such criticism is not the abandonment of organized social-studies or integrative units but, rather, a more appropriate use of them in the elementary-school program. Units that grow out of functional situations, including those created through an enriched classroom environment, can be chosen. Through teacher-pupil planning and use of resources in the community, the unit study can be effectively related to the total experience of group members. Variety in procedures and learning materials can help provide for individual differences in interests and abilities and avoid

43. Ruth E. Ellsworth, "Suggested Emphases for the Elementary-School Curriculum," *Social Education*, XVII (February, 1953), 57-61.

44. Wilhelmina Hill, "Guided Experiences: The Unit Method," *Social Education of Young Children*, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

stereotyped routines. Organizing units around problems that are real to group members can bring vitality to the social-studies program. Not every unit can or should be completely problem-centered, but a substantial proportion of those included in the elementary social-studies program should have a problem-solving emphasis.

Curriculum-planners in Wilmington (Delaware) have proposed that three types of internal organization be utilized in the elementary-school social-studies program.⁴⁵ The first involves learning activities centered around a specific purpose or goal, such as carrying out a drive for the Junior Red Cross or making a classbook for the school library. A second type is focused on a center of interest, such as a study of an aspect of transportation or communication, housing, and so on. The third is the problem-centered block of work, in which the group studies a topic in organized fashion in order to find possible ways of dealing with the problems associated with it.

Alongside the organized blocks of work there should be room for study of particular situations about which children have become concerned. An incident on the playground may have significant social learnings if followed up in the classroom at once. A visitor to the school or a child's report during the sharing period may create an interest about a social-studies topic that should be satisfied. Frequently an elementary-school child raises questions that could be developed into full-scale units with older students but which are more appropriately treated at a less intensive level with young children. Thus, an event reported on television may arouse a curiosity that should be met, but at the level of the curious-one's maturity and capacity to understand.

A satisfactory plan for organizing social-studies learning experiences from day to day must help the child to integrate within himself his experiences with his social world, to see relationships, and to apply what he understands to his own situations. It must take into account the need for *flexibility*, to satisfy immediate questions and interests, and for *continuity*, to provide for the development of basic understandings, attitudes, and skills. A plan which satisfies these requirements will include a combination of short

45. *Opening Doors*, op. cit., pp. 15-16.

"interests," specific-purpose activities, center-of-interest units, and problem-centered blocks of work. The exact proportions in which these various types of organization will be utilized must be determined by teachers and pupils working together in their own classrooms.

Some Factors Affecting Social-Studies Programs

As the foregoing discussion suggests, a variety of factors within and beyond the school have determined the characteristics of social-studies programs. Efforts to improve the social-studies curriculum must be planned with reference to these several factors.

LEGISLATIVE REQUIREMENTS

Legislative requirements have played and continue to play a considerable role in shaping the social-studies curriculum. Statutes enacted by state legislatures requiring the teaching of United States history and constitution at certain grade levels have already been referred to. Other statutory measures found in many states require the teaching of state history and constitution, observance of special days in the schools, instruction in patriotism and duties of citizenship, and other related topics which fall in the field of social studies.⁴⁶

In some cases the legislation is drawn in general terms, with the specifics of implementation left to be determined by the state or local educational authorities. In others such specifics as time allotment and the placement of a topic in the curriculum are stated in the law itself. Curriculum patterns are affected directly when the law, for example, requires that state history be taught in public schools ". . . in and only in the history course of all such schools," or that at least ten minutes each day be spent in teaching patriotism and one-half hour each week during the school year (or one hour each week during one semester) be devoted to study of the state and national constitutions.⁴⁷

The first approach, in which the state legislature indicates civic

46. Ward W. Keesecker, *Education for Freedom as Provided by State Laws*. Office of Education Bulletin, No. 11, 1948. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1948. Also, "Statutory and Regulatory Provision for the Teaching of American History and Government," *op. cit.*

47. Keesecker, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

goals toward which the schools should strive but leaves school authorities free to work out details of implementation, is clearly desirable from the educational point of view. The laws stating specifics have for most part been drawn with little regard for the maturity and needs of the learners; such measures hinder the school's efforts to attain the very goals stated in the laws. Plischke, in his study of legislative control of the elementary-school curriculum, concluded that there is a real danger that opportunities for experimentation and improvement of the curriculum may be endangered by inflexible statutory requirements.⁴⁸ Although there is a slight trend toward laws delegating curriculum-making responsibilities to educational agencies, Plischke found this to be more than offset by the amount of legislation dictating specifics. Educators and other citizens with an intelligent interest in the schools should recognize the need to prevent the passage of restrictive curricular laws. They should also examine existing statutes affecting the curriculum—including the social-studies program—with a view to revision of legislation which hampers curriculum improvement.

Legal provisions of other types affect the elementary social-studies curriculum by limiting the selection of learning materials and experiences. Mandatory use of a particular textbook adopted on a state-wide or city-wide basis hampers efforts to work out a program in terms of a particular group's needs and interests. The textbook thus imposed is likely to determine curriculum pattern and almost certainly dictates content to be studied. Legal regulations which make it difficult for schools to use field trips and other experiences beyond the school grounds constitute another limitation. Freedom to use a variety of learning materials, including a high proportion of nontextbook readings, sensory materials, and field experiences is essential for improvement of the elementary-school social-studies program.

THE TEACHER AS CURRICULUM-MAKER

When asked to comment on factors limiting the development of the social-studies curriculum, one educator from a midwestern city

48. John Ruff Plischke, "Legislative Control of the Elementary Curriculum from 1941 to 1950," *University of Pittsburgh Bulletin: Abstracts of Doctoral Dissertations*, L (July 10, 1954), 287-91.

replied that his school system was not hampered by legal restrictions but rather by ". . . self-imposed standards by teachers and tradition deeply implanted in our culture."⁴⁹ Many aspects of existing social-studies programs undoubtedly result from the force of tradition and the reluctance of teachers and administrators to move in new directions. New approaches to curriculum-planning may be employed and new terminology adopted, yet inappropriate content and routine methods tend to persist in many classrooms. Perhaps if teachers understood more fully when and why particular aspects of traditional programs came into the elementary-school curriculum, they would be more free to discard elements that have ceased to be vital or even appropriate in the light of society's needs today and of modern knowledge about how children grow and learn.⁵⁰

The teacher's role in curriculum-making comes into new importance as more dynamic conceptions of curriculum development are accepted. Participation in the planning by those who are to implement the plans is increasingly recognized as essential. Bennett and Emlaw, after working for several years in a continuing program of curriculum development, have summarized the problem:⁵¹

Many attempts at curriculum revision in the past have failed because of failure to get adequate faculty involvement. Some communities have employed experts to do the job for them. Excellent curriculum materials have come from such attempts, but seldom have such efforts resulted in any marked changes in the schools for which the new curriculum was devised. Failure to involve the instructional staff in such efforts invariably results in nonacceptance by the staff. Not having gone through

49. Quoted in Hodgson, *op. cit.*, p. 294.

50. For an excellent brief account focused on the intermediate grades but with much that is applicable to all elementary-school grades, see Mary E. Kely, "Curriculum Development in Social Studies for the Middle Grades: Differing Factors during the Past Twenty-five Years Which Have Led to the Present Confusion," *Social Studies for Older Children*, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-15 (Curriculum Series No. 5, National Council for the Social Studies). Also, Rolla M. Tryon, *The Social Sciences as School Subjects*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1935.

51. Herschel K. Bennett and Rita Emlaw, "School Systems Improve the Social Studies Curriculum," *Improving the Social Studies Curriculum*, p. 179. Twenty-sixth Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies. Washington: National Council for the Social Studies, 1955.

the experience of developing the material, they are overwhelmed by its magnitude and their lack of understanding of its content.

The preparation of curriculum bulletins by teacher committees has been going on in some school systems for a generation and is more and more the accepted procedure.⁵² It can be a valuable way of working. Those who have studied the application of group process techniques to curriculum development, however, point out that involvement does not automatically come with committee membership, that arbitrary use of a committee system may actually preclude true involvement of teacher personnel. They suggest, too, that a variety of ways of involving the total school staff must be found and that effective participation in curriculum-planning is closely related to involvement in other aspects of the school program.⁵³

PARENTS AS CURRICULUM-MAKERS

Parents and other lay citizens as well as teachers are affected by curriculum change and properly have a role to play in planning for it. They are likely to be particularly sensitive to the area of social studies because of its responsibility for citizenship education and because the social studies must deal with socioeconomic issues of the day. The participation of lay citizens can be a source of valuable ideas and stimulation. In addition, their involvement may mean the difference between the public's acceptance or rejection of promising plans for improving the elementary social-studies curriculum. Denver's recent experience with citizen participation in the planning of the social-studies program, for example, indicates both procedures for citizen co-operation in curriculum development and benefits to be derived from it.⁵⁴ Citizen involvement in planning

52. Most of the curriculum materials cited in this chapter were so developed.

53. For discussion of these points, see: Ruth E. Ellsworth, "Processes Used in Improving the Social-Studies Curriculum," *Improving the Social Studies Curriculum*, *op. cit.*, pp. 255-64; Ronald C. Doll and Others, *Organizing for Curriculum Development* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1953); Hilda Taba and Others, *Elementary Curriculum in Intergroup Relations*, chap. viii (Washington: American Council on Education, 1950).

54. For an account of this work, see chapter xi of this Yearbook; also E. Goldman and H. Wilcox, "Parents and Teachers Design a Curriculum," *National Elementary Principal*, XXXIV (April, 1955), 8-10.

also leads to increased participation of parents in developing the social-studies program through such activities as serving as resource personnel, assisting in field trips, and providing related experiences for children during out-of-school hours.

Summary and Conclusions

In spite of the slowness with which our schools change, the typical elementary-school social-studies program today is more functionally organized, more learnable for the children who study it, and more realistic in terms of society's demands than was the typical program of a generation ago. Much has been achieved in many schools. Much remains to be achieved to create an effective social-studies program in most schools, and always will, since a dynamic, evolving curriculum is necessary to meet the changing needs of our society and of the children who live in it. The experiments and progress of recent years hold clues for future efforts at improving the social-studies curriculum.

The organizational patterns which show greatest promise for social-studies programs are those which draw from more than one subject area the materials needed for study of the topics or problems at hand, and provide children with opportunities for learning that are not segmented by subject boundaries. They are patterns that are flexible enough to be adapted to the immediate situation, yet provide enough of a framework to give teachers and children a sense of direction and security. They are patterns based on the threefold foundations of characteristics of children, needs of society, and recent findings in the social sciences. They make possible the development of sequence in terms of the learner's growth rather than in terms of logical arrangement of subject matter. They are patterns that provide for more thorough study of selected topics and problems, as compared with superficial coverage of many insufficiently related facts. Judged by these criteria, the social-studies fusion and integrative curriculum patterns are definitely superior to the subject pattern. They have the added advantage of facilitating other desirable steps toward more functional social-studies instruction in the elementary school.

Relatively few school systems have attempted over-all planning for the social-studies program from the kindergarten through the

senior high school. Much more needs to be done to insure a developmental program in social studies as the child moves from grade to grade.⁵⁵ Whatever the organizational pattern in use, it is possible to plan for the child's growth in understanding basic concepts, in acquiring the social-studies skills, and in developing socially acceptable values. The social-studies fusion and integrative patterns of organization, as compared with the subject curriculum, offer a more functional setting for planning such a developmental program through the elementary grades.

The use of social functions, social processes, persistent life situations, or some combination of such approaches to establish scope and sequence for the social-studies curriculum has been fruitful in many schools. These approaches offer a substitute for the curricular framework of subjects and help schools move toward a fusion or integrative type of program. We need continued experimentation in ways of implementing these newer and promising approaches, and especially in ways of helping a local school staff apply them to its particular situation. Effective use of the social-functions or a persistent life-situations approach, for example, depends on understanding and acceptance of a new curricular framework by the teacher. Cutting and pasting, never effective techniques for curriculum development, have even less value in implementing the newer approaches to scope and sequence than when used to revise a subject curriculum.

In the last analysis, it is the classroom teacher who determines how effective any effort to improve the social-studies program will be. There is no situation so hopeless that an interested and competent teacher cannot improve with respect to instruction in the social studies. There is no situation so perfect that continued striving for improvement is not needed. Rigid curriculum patterns undoubtedly are a handicap, yet there are few situations so completely inflexible that the teacher cannot move across subject lines to establish relationships between, for example, the historical, geographic, cultural, and scientific aspects of a topic. The mandatory textbook

55. For discussion of this point, see Ole Sand, "Continuity and Sequence in Social-Studies Curriculums," *Journal of Educational Research*, XLIV (April, 1951), 561-73; Ole Sand, "Tasks To Be Done in Improving the Social-Studies Curriculum," *Improving the Social-Studies Curriculum*, *op. cit.*, pp. 237-54.

can restrict the program or, in the hands of an energetic teacher, it can become one tool among many and so be used appropriately. Lack of school-wide attention to sequence in the social-studies program need not prevent a capable teacher from planning with his pupils for activities that will build on their previous experiences. Most important, by striving for more functional teaching and learning of the social studies in his own classroom, the alert teacher lays the groundwork for improvement of the school-wide social-studies program.

CHAPTER VII

Individual Differences in Classroom Learning

W. LINWOOD CHASE *

The Learning Needs of School Children

Our schools are maintained for the purpose of meeting the learning needs of children and youth in attaining certain educational objectives which have been set up as most desirable in our democratic culture. In the "good old days," when children who could not meet grade standards were held back and often finally eliminated from school, the educational program seemed much less complicated. A fifth-grade child was given a set of fifth-grade textbooks. It was understood that he had reached an achievement level where he could handle them and be ready for the sixth grade by the end of the year, or not be promoted.

The writer is reminded of the first term of school he ever taught—a one-room rural school with fourteen children in eight different grades. Today, an ordinary fifth grade might well have in it as wide educational achievements as existed among those fourteen children. Normal variation in the personal characteristics of any group of children can be expected to be wide in the kinds of ability which will affect the quality of learning in the social studies.

Characteristics which make a difference in designing a social-studies learning program for a fourth grade, for example, include individual differences in reading achievement and reading interests, hobbies, extent of travel, conversation at home, specific talents, quality of observation, intellectual curiosity, readiness for social adjustment, interest in television programs, written and oral expression, study skills, breadth of cultural interests, motor skills, ability to work with others, diversity of reading, interpretations based on experiences, capacity to learn, and habits of work.

* The writer acknowledges the assistance of Donald D. Durrell, Boston University School of Education, in contributing material and for critical reading of this chapter.

In the education section of a recent news magazine, a scientist was reported as having said that schools train the exceptional student how not to be exceptional and that he has to overcome the resulting tendency toward repression of initiative and spontaneity if he is to remain exceptional. This is a strong indictment. Yet, if one were to visit at random the intermediate-grade classrooms in any sizable city, he would likely be appalled at the lack of attention to individual differences in many of those rooms. In the primary grades the situation is better. Small-group work is regarded as necessary to meet the learning needs of the children. But, when these same children, still with wide variations in achievement and needs, go into the intermediate grades, they must adjust their learning habits to mass teaching which is the common procedure.

It seems to be generally accepted that one of the basic tenets of a democracy is respect for the personality of the individual. Accordingly, the school lends encouragement to individual differences which fit a democratic society. This implies a concern for individual growth and requires careful guidance of the learning process. In fact, the primary significance of individual differences is that children learn differently. This calls for unremitting attention by the teacher and a specific design to meet the individual needs of the children.

In designing a program to fit an individual child, the teacher is faced with certain propositions. Modifications in instruction are probably more a matter of emphasis than a matter of kind. The literature on the gifted and on the slow learner discusses activities and instructional procedures for both groups very similar in nature but varying in depth and breadth. Individual assignments are made in line with individual needs, but always with the knowledge that growth toward certain educational goals also comes through group work. Individual differences make for problems, but they should also be regarded as assets and resources. How uninteresting it would be for both teacher and children if all children were nearly alike in their achievements and interests, to say nothing of their personalities. Under good instruction, individual differences will widen. There will never be any closing of the gap; to have the gap widen under instruction is to provide evidence that the teacher has cared for individual differences.

Role of the Teacher in Providing for Individual Differences

Until a teacher decides that planning for individual children is imperative, nothing is going to happen in the classroom in making provision for individual differences. What really counts is what happens each hour of each day with each classroom teacher.

The teacher makes choices. Even without action, he makes a choice—the choice not to act. If there is little provision for individual differences in a classroom, one can assume that the teacher has decided to do nothing about that problem. Teachers may use the excuse of curriculum demands or administrative and supervisory requirements as controlling their methods of instruction. However, honest analysis of practically any situation will reveal more areas of freedom for the teacher than areas of restriction. Usually tradition, inertia, and ignorance constitute the blocks to change.

For thirty-five years and more, teacher-training institutions have stressed the idea that quite possibly the chief problem in teaching is providing for individual differences. What many teachers know about providing for these differences and what they practice may be very far apart. Even though mass teaching does not achieve the results we should get in school, it is much less demanding on a teacher's time and energy than planning for individuals or small groups. Does this mean that some teachers want to work at the mass-instruction level because it is easier?

As in children, there are wide differences in the abilities and interests of teachers. So, choice by the teacher works something like this. Depending on his skill in planning suitable activities for the whole class, small groups, and individuals in his classroom and on his personal interest in the welfare of those pupils, the teacher's choices may, in the case of *each child*, have such effect as:

- a) to make social studies liked or disliked;
- b) to have subject matter remembered or forgotten;
- c) to widen or restrict horizons;
- d) to make study easy or hard;
- e) to encourage or discourage initiative;
- f) to make a task dull or interesting;
- g) to stimulate or deaden intellectual curiosity;
- h) to provide little or much appropriate practice in study skills;
- i) to have wide voluntary reading or reading largely by assignment;

- j) to develop increasing independence of or dependence on teacher-made assignments;
- k) to require identical standards for all or adapt to individual needs and differences;
- l) to like others or be indifferent toward others;
- m) to develop pride in craftsmanship with high standards or tolerate slipshod standards.

The number of techniques, practices, and procedures for discovering the status of each child and helping teachers become sensitive to children as individuals is large.¹ To assist the teacher in developing an understanding of children, the following procedures are commonly suggested: interviewing children and their parents, consulting former teachers and school records, making anecdotal records, listening in or observing during free-work or play period, having a time for telling about week-end and other experiences, having autobiographies written, having children keep diaries, giving and interpreting teacher-made and standardized tests, developing case studies, making class logs of activities, interpreting pictures and photographs, using community groups and agencies as sources of information, conducting role-playing, asking leading questions, and using value judgments.

To facilitate a very practical consideration of individual differences in classroom learning, in the social studies specifically, the remaining sections of this chapter will discuss evidence of learning needs, ways to discover individual variations, and ways to improve the situation in three different aspects of a social-studies program. These three features of the program pertain to methods of making social studies seem important to pupils in the elementary grades, stimulating and utilizing new ideas, and developing social-civic behavior.

Making Social Studies Important to Children

Fifth-grade children have given social studies a low rating when they have compared them with other subjects in the school cur-

1. Gertrude Driscoll, *How to Study Behavior of Children* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1941); T. L. Torgerson, *Studying Children: Diagnostic and Remedial Procedures in Teaching* (New York: Dryden Press, 1947); "Report of a Committee on Attention to Individuals," *Teachers College Record*, LII (January, 1951), 239-45.

riculum.² All of the fifth-grade children in sixty-five New England towns and cities, 13,482 of them, were asked to mark on a check list their first, second, and third choices of favorite subjects. Social studies and spelling tied for fourth place, with 9.40 per cent of first choices, while arithmetic rated 22.24 per cent of the first choices. A year later in a southwestern city, the first choices of all of the 2,350 children in the fifth grades ranked social studies in sixth place. There was a very definite rejection of social studies by many children. Nine hundred of the children in the New England fifth-grade study were checked two years later in the seventh grade by the same type of check list. Social studies were no more popular then than they had been earlier. The pattern of dislike or indifference had been set, and it had persisted.

We still have not found definitive answers to the question of why social studies are not more popular. We can hazard some hypotheses.

1. Assignment, study, and evaluation cannot be wrapped up by the pupil in a neat little package like arithmetic.
2. The child does not see or feel that he is gaining in significant achievement which is an essential factor in effective learning.
3. Either too many activities are not meaningful or the child is not aware of the purpose behind each activity.
4. The child fails to get the feeling of power or command over continuing valuable processes which should be developed in a social-studies skills program.
5. Social studies are not the favorite subjects of the majority of elementary teachers.
6. There is lack of careful design in methods by which the child can see his progress in small units of growth and have the lift given by continued success.
7. Too much content is overburdened with unskillfully presented facts.
8. Too much whole-class teaching is done with little or no attention to individual differences.

It is this matter of individual differences which is probably the crux of the whole situation. If one is to judge by classroom practices, there still seems to be a singular lack of concern in the inter-

2. W. Linwood Chase, "Subject Preferences of Fifth-Grade Children," *Elementary School Journal*, L (December, 1949), 204-11.

mediate grades regarding differences in interests, needs, abilities, and capacities of the pupils.

In spite of what has been said about the relative unpopularity of the social studies, children, in calling for the kinds of ideas and information provided by the social studies, seem to be constantly seeking more accurate concepts of the world and how it came to be. Then what must we be doing to them in school?

Baker³ collected questions from 1,531 children in Grades III through VI by having them write the questions in answer to the query, "If someone had the time and knew enough to answer all your questions, what questions would you ask?" She received and classified 9,280 questions, of which 4,582 (49.37 per cent of all the questions) were put into eleven categories under the heading of social studies. These categories were:

1. Man as a social being
2. American history and government
3. Communication
4. Travel and transportation
5. Inventions
6. Geography of United States and its territories
7. Distant lands and people
8. Industries and commercial products
9. Local community
10. Recreation
11. War

Ten years later, in 1951, Clark and others collected questions in answer to the same query used by Baker.⁴ They received 54,389 questions from 4,740 children in Grades IV through VI. There were 26,780 questions placed in the eleven social-studies categories which was 49.24 per cent of the total. Boys asked 51.87 per cent of these questions as compared with 48.13 per cent asked by girls, a statistically significant difference at the 1 per cent level in favor of the boys.

3. Emily V. Baker, *Children's Questions and Their Implications for Planning the Curriculum*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1945.

4. Edythe T. Clark *et al.*, "What Children Want To Know about Their World." Unpublished Ed.M. thesis, Boston University, 1952.

Perhaps distaste for the social studies has arisen because of the activities employed with the content or the failure to use certain types of activities. A program that is designed to treat learning difficulties must be based on the assumption that children learn differently and need programs which meet their individual requirements. Proper use of appropriate activities is what gives vitality to the social-studies program.

Foley, in determining what activities were preferred by sixth-graders, had the child indicate on an activities check list how he felt about "each way of working in social studies." The pupils reported by putting a circle around a symbol showing "I like it very much," or "I neither like it nor dislike it," or "I dislike it very much."⁵ The twelve best-liked activities were:

1. See films, filmstrips, and slides about unit
2. Take a trip to the museum in connection with unit
3. Find a play and act it out
4. Listen to reports
5. Learn new words
6. Draw pictures to illustrate the unit
7. Work with a group on a mural or picture
8. Work in committees on a project or assignment
9. Study maps of the country being talked about
10. Make up plays about interesting happenings
11. Discuss films, filmstrips, and slides about unit
12. Make exhibits to go with the study

A study involving 536 children from all of the fifth-grade classrooms in the same schools used by Foley the year before, and using the same activities list, found little variance in preferred activities. The twelve most popular activities in the fifth grade were among the first fifteen in the sixth grade.⁶

Does this mean that activities not among the winners in a popularity contest among children should not be used? Surely not. It does mean, however, that unpopular activities having high educational value present a challenge to the teacher. They must be highly motivated if they are to serve their purpose effectively.

5. Harriet M. Foley, "Preferences of Sixth-Grade Children for Certain Social-Studies Activities." Unpublished Ed.M. thesis, Boston University, 1951.

6. David P. Duval, "Preferences of Fifth-Grade Children for Certain Social-Studies Activities." Unpublished Ed.M. thesis, Boston University, 1952.

Gay's study of activities at the third-grade level⁷ was based on a list of twenty direct statements applicable to situations the children would likely experience in their study of the community. The activities involved in the situations chosen are here listed, the most popular activities appearing at the head of the list.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Seeing a movie | 11. Keeping records |
| 2. Building a model | 12. Collecting pictures for a scrap-book |
| 3. Taking part in a real radio broadcast | 13. Interviewing |
| 4. Visiting | 14. Writing original songs |
| 5. Acting out a play | 15. Writing original stories |
| 6. Watching workmen | 16. Planning a list of questions |
| 7. Drawing | 17. Reporting to the class |
| 8. Reading | 18. Studying pictures |
| 9. Singing songs | 19. Listening to speakers |
| 10. Making an exhibit | 20. Discussing |

Very little is known about what children would choose to study in the field of the social studies if given the opportunity to make choices. Out of all the topics which the field of social studies encompasses, what would children indicate as their preference to study? What would they want most to learn about? A study by Bresnahan sought an answer.⁸ It was necessary to construct an instrument which would reveal children's preferences. A master list of topics that could be a part of a social-studies program was compiled. The topics were grouped into nine categories.

Category 1: *People*. Includes all people: famous people, every-day people, professional people, any person who has an individual occupation, and children.

Category 2: *Group occupations*. Includes any occupation in which a group of people contribute to an industry.

Category 3: *Progress through inventions*. Includes anything that has been invented which has helped us to progress in

7. Ella M. Gay, "Preferences of Third-Grade Pupils in Activities of the Social Studies." Unpublished Ed.M. thesis, Boston University, 1951.

8. Virginia W. Bresnahan *et al.*, "Preferences of Children in Grades Two through Eight in Social-Studies Areas." Unpublished Ed.M. thesis, Boston University, 1952.

science, medicine, engineering, home life, and the like.

- Category 4: *Periods of time*. Includes whole periods of time such as pioneer days, colonial days, or Middle Ages.
- Category 5: *Cultural aspects*. Includes situations of freedom, human rights, cultural contributions by other peoples.
- Category 6: *Aesthetic aspects*. Includes the development within a country of art, literature, and music.
- Category 7: *Social aspects*. Includes reform by religion and political change and its effect on the human being.
- Category 8: *Natural resources*. Includes the wealth or lack of wealth that nature has given that country.
- Category 9: *Geographic aspects*. Includes size, climate, location, and topography and the effect they have had on particular peoples.

Statements were written at each grade level for each of the categories and then set up in pairs so the pupil could indicate his preference or interests. Thirty-six pairs compared each category with every other category, but, in order to eliminate the possibility of children checking the first statement too frequently, the thirty-six pairs were reversed in the second half of the check list, making seventy-two paired comparisons in all.

ILLUSTRATION FROM GRADE V

If you had to choose, which would you rather study about?

- () The work of fishermen on fishing boats?
or
() How machines have helped in traveling?
() Ways in which Americans are like people in other countries and ways in which they are different?
or
() What it was like in America when the first people came here to live?

Bresnahan secured preferences from 4,129 pupils in Grades II through VI. The areas are ranked below in order of their popularity. The per cent of choices is given for each. (The approximate per cent of difference for statistical significance between percentages is 3.)

1. Periods of time (58.98)
2. People (55.64)

3. Cultural aspects (53.89)
4. Natural resources (49.88)
5. Group occupations (48.41)
6. Aesthetic aspects (48.28)
7. Geographic aspects (48.27)
8. Progress through inventions (44.84)
9. Social aspects (41.32)

Such studies of children's interests emphasize wide individual preferences. Every teacher is faced every day with a group of children who differ widely in their experiences, desires, drives, and degrees of alertness in relation to the materials and content of the social studies. Unless the teacher is sensitive to these factors, our schools will go right on developing many children who are indifferent to or have a distaste for social studies.

There is no simple formula or easily structured pattern of making social studies important to children. There is no measuring instrument which will analyze all of the facets of the child's behavior, thus telling the teacher just what to do in developing satisfactory social-studies experiences for each individual child. But the teacher may gain insight into the nature of child's problems by asking himself such questions as the following:

1. How much *doing* is there compared with how much *listening*?
2. What evidence is there that the child is following one of his interests?
3. Is his experience with an activity successful and satisfying?
4. Is he making use of some special ability in contributing to a group project?
5. In what ways has he been allowed to express his own special interests?
6. Is the learning situation purposeful enough so that the importance of learning is apparent to the child himself?

Guidance and direction in dealing with gifted children and the slow-learning pupils is not easy for the teacher to manage. An enrichment program to be carried on in the regular classroom for gifted children could be designed for social-studies content with the application of a variety of procedures such as:⁹

9. Adapted from Robert J. Havighurst, Eugene Stivers, and Robert F. DeHaan, *A Survey of Education of Gifted Children* (Chicago: Committee on Human Development, University of Chicago Press, 1955), p. 20; and *Curriculum Bulletin* [Arlington County (Virginia) Public Schools], III (February 4, 1953), 1.

1. Emphasizing the creative or the experimental
2. Encouraging extensive reading
3. Emphasizing the skills of investigation and learning
4. Providing opportunities for leadership in class and school activities
5. Stressing initiative and originality in independent work
6. Developing opportunities for community responsibility

Teaching the slow learner, like teaching the bright one, calls for special planning. The following suggestions of methods suitable for instruction in classes of slow-learning pupils are applicable to the social studies.¹⁰

1. Presenting new materials by associating them and explaining them in terms of simple familiar materials
2. Keeping the slow learner conscious of progress at all times
3. Discovering special interests on the part of individual learners and applying learning activities to these interests
4. Making daily assignments involving specific, meaningful tasks
5. Attempting only what it is possible for the child to learn and allowing time for him to learn it well
6. Teaching the children to read better by taking more time for oral reading in order to develop comprehension and vocabulary

Pupil specialties offer good opportunities in social studies.¹¹ A specialty is a special assignment which deals with some person, place, event, product, or period of time. Specialties enrich the classroom program, giving the child a feeling of importance. Too often he is merely one of a number of competitors having the same information which nobody especially cares about.

Specialties are highly useful for rapid learners, but they are needed equally by slow learners who often are submerged in classroom competition. Specialties may be temporary, part of a single unit, or covering a short period of time separate from a unit. They may be more permanent in that they extend over a long period of time, when the child takes on the assignment in advance of its use in class and is considered the class "expert" on that particular subject. According to the subject dealt with, a specialty may continue

10. Marie A. Mehl, Hubert H. Mills, and Harl R. Douglass, *Teaching in Elementary School*, pp. 385-86. New York: Ronald Press Co., 1950.

11. Donald D. Durrell and Leonard J. Savignano, "Classroom Enrichment through Pupil Specialties," *Journal of Education*, CXXXVIII (February, 1956), 1-31.

beyond the time used in class, with reference to it from time to time, or, as sometimes happens, it may become a long-term interest of the child.

Nothing has been said about making remote and distant lands, and people and happenings of the past, real to the children. The writer believes that the techniques and methods used to make social studies seem important to children will contribute toward making them real. The teachers' attention to individual differences, so directed that the pupil population may be successful and feel important in their own accomplishments, will do much toward making social studies more useful in their lives.

Handling Intake and Output of Ideas

Reading, listening, speaking, and writing are essential abilities in the social studies. Since pupils differ widely in these abilities, provision for differences in social-studies instruction must take them into account. The elementary-school teacher faces a dual task in the relationship between language abilities and the social studies; he must attain social-studies objectives through the current language abilities of the pupils; and he must serve language-growth objectives through the teaching of social studies. Low language abilities must not be permitted to play the part of an "iron curtain" which prevents the child from achieving social-studies objectives. If the child cannot acquire essential ideas and information through reading, then oral and visual presentation must be used to reach the desired end. But improvement in reading, speaking, and writing are important to the child's growth, and social-studies instruction must serve objectives of the language studies also.

The two most serious language barriers in social studies are reading and writing. These are recent acquisitions—learned after school entrance—and, for elementary-school children, are very limited abilities as compared to the longer established and far wider abilities of listening and speaking. At the end of the third grade, for example, the average child has met about 1,500 words in his basal reader and he will have about 5,500 words in his speaking vocabulary, according to the minimum estimates. The two vocabularies apparently do not equalize until about the ninth grade. Obviously, the open channel for learning social studies is through oral activities rather than through the bottleneck of reading and writing.

Social-studies objectives are of such high importance that their attainment should not become a minor incident in learning to read and write. It would be quite possible to reach a high level of competence in social studies through a non-reading, non-writing curriculum. Motion pictures, recordings, oral presentations, pictures, field trips, discussions, and countless other activities could provide a rich and varied social-studies education. Reading and writing could be relatively incidental, utilized by those pupils who have a high mastery of them. Such a curriculum is not advocated here; it is presented as a contrast to sole dependence upon textbook presentation of social studies.

Since the reading of a social-studies textbook is a common requirement, it is important that both poor readers and superior readers be aided in textbook use. For the poor reader, this usually means aid in vocabulary, in comprehension, and in recall of the content. For the superior reader, it often means encouragement to depart from the textbook for the richer resources of reference reading.

Let us first consider the problem of the superior reader, since textbook instruction presents a greater hazard for him. The relatively meager diet presented by the textbook leaves him intellectually undernourished; witness the many studies showing the low accomplishment quotients of superior pupils. The textbook is written for the "average" pupil, carefully culled for difficult words by the publisher who is constantly admonished to write more simply. Dependence upon the textbook leaves the superior reader with a false concept of high accomplishment, a minimum knowledge of social studies, and a large amount of "practice in sitting" while slower learners stumble over inaccurate recitations. Possibly the most useful contribution of the teacher to the superior reader would be the preparation of a schedule for initiating specialties in social studies, timed for later use in connection with textbook content. Such a schedule, properly documented with suggestions for obtaining references and for illustrating the report to the class, insures a richer social-studies diet for brighter pupils. It provides the disciplines of scholarship for the bright pupil, allows him to make a unique contribution to the class, and opens the door to the vast, interesting resources in the social studies.

The reading problems in textbook instruction are often solved

in theory by the general advice "find easier books for slower learners" or "teach through a variety of reading materials on different levels." While a great many such teaching units are developed in methods courses, their appearance in classrooms is somewhat less than universal. The collection and integration of materials seems too complex a problem for constant use in a social-studies curriculum. The use of a single textbook is a much more common practice, and, while it presents serious difficulties, there are many ways in which it may be adapted to the reading levels of children.

The most obvious problem in textbook instruction is that of vocabulary, both in word meaning and word recognition. Even if it were possible, it would be undesirable to eliminate all new words from social-studies textbooks. Growth in any subject is accompanied by growth in vocabulary; the relationship is so close that most standard tests measure achievement largely through vocabulary knowledge. The enrichment of word meanings is an essential part of social-studies instruction, a responsibility which must be accepted and met in everyday teaching. Word-recognition difficulties, in which the child cannot recognize words familiar in meaning, appear among poor readers in any class. The pupil must be helped over word-recognition obstacles which appear in the textbook, but word-analysis practice is essentially a reading or spelling skill, not an objective of social studies.

Determining a child's vocabulary needs in relation to a textbook is relatively simple. It may be done by asking a child to read orally in the textbook while the teacher notes words which give difficulty in recognition. If meaning difficulties are suspected, the teacher will inquire about the particular words. Familiarity with the reading abilities of a class will enable the teacher to identify in advance most words which will be difficult for various groups of pupils. This inspection will enable her to prepare preliminary instruction to meet vocabulary difficulties.

Differences in vocabulary need may be met in various ways. When the vocabulary burden is so severe for some pupils that silent reading is not fruitful, the material should be read aloud to them. This eliminates the word-recognition burden but leaves that of word meaning. The elimination of word-recognition difficulties, however, makes it easier for the child to acquire meanings through

context; this is often aided by the expression of the reader. When meanings are new, it is well to define them in oral reading through accompanying synonyms or parenthetical phrases. It must be remembered that speaking and listening vocabularies far outreach reading vocabularies, and words not understood in reading will often be clear in listening.

The pupils who meet relatively few difficult words in a social-studies lesson may be aided in silent reading by chapter glossaries. This will call attention to new words and will anticipate the word difficulties in the chapter. If these glossaries are first discussed briefly with the pupils, then are available for ready reference, the burden of study will be lightened. Some children may not need the oral presentation and may use the glossaries independently. The exhortation to "use the dictionary" on difficult words will meet with little success for several reasons. It is common for the child to fail to perceive that he does not know a word. If all pupils are asked to skim a chapter and make a list of unknown words, the brighter pupils will have the longest lists; the poor readers cannot find the words they do not know. Even if the child could identify his unknown words, the use of the dictionary is cumbersome; by the time the child has located the word, he has forgotten the previous context in which the word appears. The dictionary is highly useful for the superior reader, but it cannot solve the meaning or pronunciation burden for the poorer reader. Chapter glossaries are much more helpful. They should include the difficult words in alphabetical order, the same words divided into syllables with accent and diacritical marks, and definitions which fit the context of the chapter.

Good comprehension and recall are not automatically achieved through vocabulary instruction alone. Even though the child knows every word in the selection, he may still have difficulty in the intake and output of ideas. Commonly found handicaps are the following: (a) the child may have attention difficulties in reading, (b) he may not see the relationships between ideas, and (c) he may lack the ability to express ideas, even though he has good comprehension. All three handicaps may be overcome through the use of study guides.

Every adult reader knows the attention difficulties which appear

in his own reading. He may find his eyes perceiving words at the bottom of the page and discover that his mind has left off several paragraphs back. Children have the same difficulty, especially in reading abstract or remote material; their minds may "leave off" at the beginning of the first sentence. They may continue looking at words throughout the lesson without discovering that they are not attending to ideas.

The second difficulty—seeing the relationships between ideas—is essential to understanding and recall. This involves the observation of structure of the presentation, particularly of paragraph patterns. This enables the child to see the facts as part of a whole, not as a series of unrelated items. It is difficult to remember unrelated fragments; it is much easier to recall closely related ideas which are part of a pattern. Outlining is a device for calling attention to structure, but it is often cumbersome and is generally disliked by children. Paragraph patterns may be taught by effective methods which are more acceptable to children: selecting the best title from three, with the rejected titles being too broad or too narrow to fit the material; providing general questions which the paragraph answers, with study teams of two or three pupils listing the facts which answer the general question. Usually a two-step outline is sufficient for comprehension and recall; the more complex outline may be presented, but it is usually more helpful in composition planning than in reading.

Difficulties in recall may still remain when attention and comprehension are assured. Even when the ideas are in the child's mind, they still may not be readily available in all types of recall. He may be able to identify correct responses in a multiple-choice situation but quite unable to answer short-answer questions and still less able to give an oral or written summary. Abilities in recall may be easily studied by asking the child to write or tell what he can remember of a day's lesson, then providing him with a set of multiple-choice or short-answer questions. He will often know many answers in the latter types of recall but his unaided recall may be inaccurate, disordered, and fragmentary. The task of organization, subordination, and selection of ideas is eliminated by the multiple-choice or short-answer questions. Correlations between written or oral recall with multiple-choice recall seldom rise

above .40; this is consistent with the often noted discrepancy between standardized test scores and classroom performance. Is the ability to identify answers adequate for independent use of social-studies material in discussion and thinking? Probably not. Clear expression and development of ideas are required in both speaking and writing.

The use of study guides with teams of two or three pupils may prove to be effective in overcoming all three difficulties of comprehension and recall: inattention, organization of ideas, and fluency in expression. Two levels of study guides are usually adequate. The first consists of a series of short-answer questions for each paragraph of the lesson, with answers provided at the right-hand side of the guide so that they may be folded back when they are not to be seen immediately by the child. The second study guide is made up of general questions for each paragraph, followed by a listing of the facts which are related to the question. These two study guides may be used by pupil teams to provide for several levels of need in comprehension and recall.

Pupils very low in attention and reading ability may use the study guide which provides detailed questions. It may be used in various ways, depending upon the level of need of the pupils. It provides the greatest aid when it is used with teams of two or three poor readers, by a pupil-teacher who is a good reader. Each question is asked orally; the pupils find the answers and give them orally, with each checking the other for correctness. Since the questions may contain many of the difficult words of the paragraph, the vocabulary burden is greatly eased for the readers. Pupils somewhat more advanced in reading may work in pairs, first reading the paragraph, then uncovering the questions to see if they know the answers, and finally checking them with the answer sheet. Pupils still more competent may read several paragraphs before uncovering the questions, may write answers upon which they agree, then check the answers. Since the detailed-question study guide carries the burden of organization, its usefulness is primarily for maintaining attention and assuring comprehension. It requires every pupil to "recite" every essential fact of the lesson and provides much more practice than the one-at-a-time recitation following class reading of a lesson.

Well-organized oral recall may be attained through the use of the study guide which contains general questions with listed answers. This, too, is used with pupil teams and may be presented in varying levels of difficulty. It aids the pupils most when the team first uncovers the general question for a paragraph, then reads silently, makes a list of the answers co-operatively, then checks the answers with the list of ideas in the study guide. It requires more effort when the pupils read one or more paragraphs, then attempt to list the essential ideas before uncovering either the general questions or the answers. Complete unaided recall may be required by superior readers who read the entire selection, then attempt to recall the content orally while another pupil checks against the study guide. Faults in sequence, omissions, and inaccuracies are then evident.

Study guides used with pupil teams take advantage of many of the preferences of pupils, yet provide constantly developing disciplines. They allow pupils to work together, which is preferred to working alone. Teachers who use pupil teams find that the only "disciplining" necessary is the suggestion that "tomorrow you will work by yourself." The study guides assure success and security; the child checks the accuracy of his knowledge immediately. They utilize oral work more than writing, and oral work is preferred by pupils. However, research in paired practice in oral recall demonstrates that written recall is also improved by the practice.¹² Most important, every child responds to every question, and the groundwork is laid for the discussion which follows the retention of facts. When used in proper sequence, study guides provide constant growth in the intake and output of ideas.

The language skills of the social studies are obviously not fully served by the time the child can read and recall the facts presented in the textbook. Skill in the use of knowledge is more important than its mere possession. Meaning and significance must be lent to the facts through activities which require elaborative thinking. Relationships must be established between the newly acquired facts and other knowledge possessed by the child. This requires specific plan-

12. Helen Scott, "An Evaluation of Exercise for the Improvement of Recall." Unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, Boston University, 1949.

ning on the part of the teacher. It is not assured by high intelligence as demonstrated by low correlations between intelligence and tests of higher mental processes.

Elaborative thinking is especially suitable for co-operative work in teams of five. Group discussion appears to stimulate elaborative thinking, and five pupils working together will usually provide a much richer list of associations than five pupils working separately. Larger groups diminish individual responsibility; smaller ones fail to yield the rich harvest of ideas.

Some of the suggestions for stimulating elaborative thinking are the following: finding ways to illustrate or dramatize the facts of the story; planning an exhibit or an assembly program; planning an interview with people who have more information about the subject; preparing a letter of inquiry; comparing the information with similar or different situations; listing questions not answered by the selection; drawing lists of generalizations from the selection; listing special topics for further inquiry; finding personal relationships with the materials; planning a field trip.

Critical thinking is a complex of abilities; it is usually concerned with evaluation of material against various types of standards or for particular purposes. While it is usually identified with more advanced abilities in the social studies, especially in controversial areas, some experience in critical thinking may be given in the elementary school. Practice in critical thinking may be provided by activities such as the following: selecting material which is pertinent to a topic as contrasted with material not pertinent; evaluating material for its suitability for a particular audience or occasion; making suggestions for improving a plan or presentation; distinguishing fact from opinion; finding differences in points of view; noting overstatements and unfounded claims; evaluating the dependability of a statement. Suggestions for the development and evaluation of critical thinking may be found in the Thirteenth Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies.¹³

The development of language and thinking abilities may best be undertaken through small-group instruction. However, the size of

13. *Teaching Critical Thinking in the Social Studies*. Thirteenth Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies. Edited by Howard R. Anderson. Washington: National Education Association, 1942.

the group depends upon the objective sought. The acquiring of skills in intake and output of ideas is essentially an individual matter; but individual work is usually limited to silent reading and writing. In these activities, the child often finds learning lonesome and insecure. Oral work requires a listener, but if only one child may speak while all others listen, the amount of individual language practice is very limited. Working in pairs, threes, or fives makes learning more secure, more sociable, and provides far more individual practice. However, pupil-team study and independent small-group work require specific planning by the teacher; ill-defined, unimportant, or unsuitable tasks invite trouble. When the teacher is unable to find time to prepare study guides or to set suitable tasks, he may provide extra language practice through three-pupil recitation teams. Children are divided into groups of three, with the middle child being secretary for the group. Questions are presented by the teacher; each secretary writes the answers agreed upon by the groups. If social studies are to be "social" they must include practice in co-operative effort; the social-development objectives are hard to attain in unsocial, competitive classrooms.

Many of the tasks in the intake of ideas may be done with the entire group sharing the experience. When oral, visual, or multi-sensory presentations are used, how much an individual pupil learns is not dependent upon the size of the audience. Types of activities which may be used effectively in whole-class activities are those which involve demonstrations, field trips, exhibits, displays, motion pictures, listening to poetry, plays and dramatizations, choral reading, appreciation lessons, recordings, radio or television programs, group reports on units, class planning, and listening to explanations and directions. The sharing of common experiences in a noncompetitive situation adds important values to the social integration of the class.

Developing Social-Civic Behavior

If the children of a selected group are checked at any specific time—third grade, fifth grade, or even more than once during a school year—there will be as wide individual differences among them in social-civic behavior as in any other aspect of social education, including subject-matter achievement. Whether we concern

ourselves with the relationships of a child to his peer group in his classroom in all the various aspects of school living and working or to his social-civic behavior in other community institutions and in community life, we know that growth must start at the point where he is. This calls for understanding the status of each child.

What a child thinks of himself in relationship to others in the group and to standards set up by the group is very important. Teachers committed to a program of democratic teaching through democratic living and learning understand the necessity for instruction in many kinds of skills and techniques required for democratic action.

By the end of the sixth grade, a child should have a certain degree of ability in skills and techniques required as a member of a group, such as sharing intelligently in discussion, participating in group thinking, co-operating with others in work and play, cultivating attitudes of good will and service, abiding by the decisions of the majority, contributing to group enterprises, choosing leaders wisely, participating in the government of the school, serving as a leader, following a leader, adjusting differences with others in a democratic and peaceful fashion, living in friendly relationship with his fellows, serving efficiently on committees, working with others in solving school and community problems, maintaining an open-minded attitude in discussion, recognizing rights and property of others, working for the common good, developing social sensitivity, appreciating the contribution of others to personal and group living, co-operating with those who are older and those who are younger, and using simple parliamentary procedures.

There are also such skills and techniques required in self-control and self-direction as discovering certain tasks to be done, having respect for one's self and others, assuming personal responsibility, exercising initiative, respecting the opinions of others, making plans alone and with a group, carrying plans through to realization, learning how to insist on rights, surrendering privileges as occasion demands, having respect for authority, accepting suggestions, putting one's self in the other person's place, and accepting civic duties.

Also by the end of the sixth grade, a child should have some degree of ability in certain intellectual skills and techniques related to democratic action, such as acting on the basis of carefully

weighed judgments; analyzing rumor and identifying propaganda; making decisions and evaluating them; understanding democratic obligations as well as privileges; analyzing democratic techniques used in community, state, nation, and student government; establishing criteria for standards of achievement; evaluating what has been done in terms of standards set up; understanding one's responsibility to school, home, community, and country; thinking critically; and recognizing increasing interdependency of individuals, communities, and nations.

To illustrate further the significance of individual differences for social-civic behavior, the writer has chosen three studies completed at Boston University in recent years.

Claffey¹⁴ conducted a study of the attitudes of fifth-grade children regarding respect for rights and property by setting up twenty situations to which the children were asked to respond, using multiple-choice answers. Here is an illustration:

Robert borrowed a book from school. His baby sister, Kathleen, marked the book with crayons.

What should Robert do?

- (a) Try to repair the damage.
- (b) Tell the teacher.
- (c) Say it was that way when he borrowed it.

What do you think Robert did?

- (a) Tried to repair the damage.
- (b) Told the teacher.
- (c) Said it was that way when he borrowed it.

Many of the children did not know the correct response (the socially acceptable response). There was no significant difference between boys and girls. Intelligence or economic status of the family were not important factors in the decisions made by the children. What was important, however, was the difference between what the children thought *should* be done in a situation and what they thought *was* done. The mean of the 268 pupils on the twenty situations as to what they thought *should* be done was 14.15 com-

14. Rose Claffey, "A Study in the Attitudes of Fifth-Grade Children Regarding Respect for Rights and Property." Unpublished Ed.M. thesis, Boston University, 1947.

pared with 9.45 as to what they thought *was* done. The difference between the two means is statistically significant.

Herlihy¹⁵ used the same research pattern with 253 sixth-grade children in setting up twenty-four situations to reveal initiative or leadership in personal contacts, emerging situations, organization of groups, and associations within groups. Again, there were no significant differences between boys and girls, and intelligence and occupation of father did not seem important. But, there was a statistically significant difference between the mean of 15.77 for the socially acceptable responses in the "should" category and the mean of 11.11 for the responses in the "did" category. Both the Claffey and the Herlihy studies were seeking to find out if a child knew the right response to a situation and if he would expect another child to act according to that knowledge. That he does not always know the right response and does not always expect others to make what he thinks is the right response should be of serious concern to all those who work with children. These findings are particularly disturbing because preliminary investigation indicated that children responded to what they thought *was* done in the way they themselves would have acted.

In a study by Cotter,¹⁶ concerned with the qualities nine-year-olds wanted to find in their leaders, 512 of them were given a paired-preference check list. The terms used to describe the qualities were evolved in a school which cultivated pupil leadership and democratic planning. In order of preference, the qualities were rated: (1) good sport; (2) helpful; (3) fair and square; (4) kind; (5) polite; (6) generous; (7) good ideas; (8) neat; (9) full of pep; and (10) strict. There was a significant difference between the frequency of mention of the first three and the frequency of mention of 5, 6, and 7; and the frequency of mention of 5, 6, and 7 was significantly different from the frequency of mention of 8, 9, and 10.

The following questions, although not all-inclusive in considering the characteristics of social-civic behavior, may be helpful to the teacher. As he asks himself these questions about the entire group

15. Jane M. Herlihy, "A Study of Some Phases of Initiative and Leadership of Sixth-Grade Children." Unpublished Ed.M. thesis, Boston University, 1947.

16. Margaret E. Cotter, "The Quality of Leadership Preferred by the Nine-Year-Old." Unpublished Ed.M. thesis, Boston University, 1950.

of children, he will immediately become aware of the individual needs to be met.

1. Are pupils developing abilities for the conduct of calm and intelligent discussion?
2. Do citizenship qualities function as habits of action in pupils?
3. Do pupils develop concern for the common welfare and then do something about it?
4. Do the pupils initiate and analyze their own activities to find out what qualities are needed for effective co-operation?
5. Are pupils developing their own criteria for standards of achievement as citizens?
6. Have pupils observed, analyzed, and evaluated the benefits of democratic action in a specific experience of school or community life?

A child's chief concern is getting along with other children and with adults. His consciousness of person-to-person relationships is constantly increasing as he becomes successively a member of larger social groups. Studies in educational method show increased learning when instruction is adjusted to the individual. This means that every classroom teacher must have specific objectives for each individual child.

CHAPTER VIII

Reading, Research, and Reporting in the Social Studies

ALVINA TREUT BURROWS

The Learning Process

BASIC SKILLS FOR LEARNING

Reading words, pictures, and numbers is an essential skill for learning in the social studies. Very early the world of symbols becomes part and parcel of the here-and-now physical world of little children. Seeing and hearing adults read, turning pages and looking at pictures, or identifying labels on home appliances, on cookies and candies, on packages and grocery-store shelves—these mark the initiation of the beginning reader.

Research is practically an instinctive pursuit of children living in reasonably resourceful environments. The yearling patting his cereal, the kindergartner dramatizing the jet plane's take-off, and the ten-year-old making a clay tablet are exploring facts of texture, velocity, consistency, pressure, and resistance. Perhaps in the last instance the investigation reaches also into ideas of personal-historical continuity.

Checking picture facts with life facts begets many questions long before kindergarten. "Why doesn't the lady take her pocketbook to the store?" was asked about a picture of a mother and children leaving home to go shopping. "Where is the light switch?" was asked about a picture of a brightly lighted room. Answering how-to-do-it questions also takes children into books at an early age, as when a kindergartner finds how to make a pinwheel from illustrated directions in a science book and an eight-year-old follows instructions for dipping candles. Besides this tangibly productive

reading, children range into an ever growing universe, transported there in part by symbols, either graphic or written. New questions loom up, fragments of new information mesh into earlier organizations of knowledge and feeling, fresh insights light up old beliefs. Thus does the "seeking behavior" of children galvanize learnings from reading as surely as it gives structure to physically overt learning.¹

Reporting in the social studies is the natural outcome of the child's compelling urge to communicate both with other children and with adults. Reporting to one another is an almost constant process when children live in a stimulating, informal atmosphere. Such reporting does not wait until the child has exhausted the data of his problem. It provides an almost immediate balance to the stimulus of making discoveries.

All three of these normal behaviors of children—*reading, research, reporting*—are essential to learning in the social studies.

SKILLS INTERRELATED IN THE CLASSROOM

"Let *me* do it," is heard wherever children work freely. The satisfaction of overcoming difficulties is jealously defended, and *doing* almost always involves *finding out*. A first-grader drawing a locomotive wants to know whether the sand dome or the steam dome is closer to the smokestack. He has played trains; he has seen trains; he has built a train out of blocks. From his trip to the trainyard and from the "story" he has heard, he remembers discussion of the mounds on top of the boiler. He knows that a familiar storybook contains a well-labeled picture of the parts of the locomotive. He takes the book to his teacher to re-read the names on the diagram. Thus do research and reading open new doors for exploration. Thus they build new curiosity and new satisfactions. Now, making the locomotive picture becomes a reporting activity, involving precise knowledge unifying firsthand research and reading. Thus do reading, research, and reporting weave a fabric of enlarged and dynamic experience.

1. Willard C. Olson, "Seeking, Self-selection, and Pacing in the Use of Books by Children," *Packet*, VII (Spring, 1952), 1-10 (Boston: D. C. Heath & Co.).

An older boy who makes a clay tablet as part of a class study of the development of writing lives through learning activities of similar sequence but of greater complexity. He must read more of both text and diagram; he must carefully measure to make a proper mold for the clay; he must copy the Egyptian characters carefully. His project takes several days. Interest is strengthened by the questions and comments of his friends. He does not wait until the tablet is complete to show it and tell about his findings. Others in his group learn something from daily contacts with the clay tablet as it nears completion. Contributions of primitive writing to the evolution of literacy become a concern of the rest of the class. When the report on this subject is finally presented in organized form, it finds a receptive audience, with many concepts ready for the two-way interaction of speaker and listener.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

In this presentation, *reading* refers to the selection of meanings from printed or written symbols. *Reference reading* is used to designate teacher-assigned reading of texts, encyclopedias, biographies, travel stories, or some types of factually true but imaginatively treated materials related to a topic being studied. Much exploratory reading is of this sort.

Research refers to investigations carried on in a spirit of honest inquiry. Sometimes the quest with which the learner is actively identified may involve use of texts and references. At times it employs primary data such as persons with pertinent experience or training; at other times the search leads to statistical records or "on the spot" records such as tapes, photographs, written records, or diaries. Primary sources for children may be any authentic, pertinent realia observed at firsthand. The unique quality of juvenile research is twofold: The learner seeks authentic data on a problem which has truly become his own, and he organizes his findings in a way peculiar to his own purposes.

Reporting includes all methods of communication and interpretation of data which may inform the learner, clarify meaning, or influence action. Representative methods of communication in such situations might include telling, making and showing illustrations; displaying ready-made illustrations; explaining diagrams, maps,

models, charts, artifacts, and other objects; dramatizing, giving planned quiz programs, interviewing, and conducting panel discussions. Reporting involves preparation of the audience and awareness of listeners' responsiveness. Planning methods of baiting audience interest may involve activities such as giving tentative solutions to questions to be considered in the report; checking these solutions with information as it is presented; adding specific items to a diagram or illustrated map; giving a new title to the topic; or even singing the refrain of a song incorporated in the report. In short, reporting, as interpreted here, is purposeful and reciprocal.

SOCIAL MOTIVATION OF LEARNING SKILLS

From these instances it is premised that motivation for reporting in the social studies is deeply rooted in children's social behavior. Frequently this drive is channelled into committee activity. Not only do individuals explore and communicate; they also work as group members with clear-cut responsibilities. Interaction within a committee provides further social stimulus for an activity which reaches out to the whole class or to the school, to the local hospital, or to the world-wide Red Cross.

Social motivation for the intellectual performance of reading and research is observed also in the infectious curiosity communicated from child to child. One boy's enthusiasm about great astronomers starts others in the same direction, branching over perhaps to a study of several constellations, to solar energy, or to making telescopes. Intellectual curiosity engenders intellectual curiosity among eager children who have some of the means of discovery at their disposal.

Social motivation for co-ordinating research and reporting is observed in plans resulting from a committee's presentation of the data they have found. A third grade studied changes in air transportation. They found the world closely brought together as they reported on latest jet speed-records. Each child chose one inventor or one kind of plane to study. Inevitably many found information for other searchers. Three children announced that their pilot fathers could arrange a trip to the International Airport, somewhat more distant than the local airport which handles continental transportation. Travel to and from the airport necessitated a change in school-bus

schedules, letters of permission to and from parents, and numerous other adjustments in social living. Nearness to foreign countries became even more vivid after seeing and talking one day to pilots on Long Island who would be in Europe or Africa the next day. In this enterprise the social motivation was inextricably related to the intellectual gains and to the emotional milieu.

PERSONAL MOTIVATION OF LEARNING SKILLS

The individual, too, is enhanced as he projects himself through activities which affect his companions. A child feels power as he holds a group's attention to each detail of how his Roman trireme works or to the illustrated map of how Indian trails crisscrossed the hills around his school. Finding one's way in an ever enlarging, ever contracting world; relating bits of known experience and previous satisfactions with new findings in biography, travel stories, or textbooks fortifies the growing child. Acculturation is one of the strongest drives of childhood, particularly rapid in the period before adolescence. Self-development through reading, studying maps, exhibits, museum collections, and objects of many kinds; through trips to factories, piers, farms, fisheries; through the interviewing of people who *know* and *do* the special things under study—these are some of the ways the individual senses his strength and feels adequate. Coming into equable relations with the culture helps the young person to maintain selfhood. Individual entity is re-enforced by group inter-action.

In social-studies learnings as thus sketched, communication is the key process. Everyone knows how hard it is for children to learn to keep a secret. This homely observation is one clue to the motivation of social-studies reporting and the series of learnings sparked by the communication process. Social-studies content concerns man as a social being. Ways of learning in this discipline must challenge children's social potential as well as their individual resources. Social-individual reciprocity is as essential for optimum academic growth as it is natural to children's behavior. In this chapter an effort will be made to present techniques of stimulus and guidance which seem productive of a high quality of reading, reporting, and research in social-studies programs.

Relation of Learning Skills to Communication in Society

The learning processes of reading, research, and reporting, as carried on in dynamic classrooms parallel the use of these processes in society generally. Frontier research, whether in the science laboratory or in social services, is constantly served by reading many kinds of related material, both primary and secondary, and by recording current phenomena. Reporting to society at large goes on in varied ways through the newspaper, magazines, books, movies, and other mass media. True, the careful investigator prefers to delay reporting to any large section of the public until his results are verified. Children, however, need to report to a small audience at almost every step of the way. It might also be observed that the adult investigator reports informally to family and close co-workers upon hunches and hopes, long before completion of his study. Archimedes' announcement of the law of displacement did not wait for a formally assembled audience, it may be remembered!

Satisfactions stemming from the approval of one's peers give powerful impetus to children's driving further into the unknown. Coupled with intuitive curiosity this group motivation can be used to fire considerable attainment. Some children particularly need the assurance which comes from holding a group attentive to every word and sketch of a well-illustrated "lecture." Others need the fortification or teamwork such as is found in a play or carefully prepared panel. The shy child who is able to bring a neighbor to school to show his slides on the Swiss Alps projects himself through this experience. He feels good as a contributor to class affairs. Both intellectual and personal growth can be enhanced through vigorous and productive communication in social-studies programs.

One of the significant developments of the twentieth century is the application of scientific method to social phenomena. This process poses particular difficulties for children. With their eagerness to find out for themselves and to tell their discoveries, children often do violence to scientific objectivity. An impression is given as fact, a single observation is reported as a general truth. This immature responsiveness needs tactful guidance. A reservoir of help lies in the wisdom of the group. Almost any single experience reported by a child has been experienced by another. Differences of interpretation should be prized rather than discarded as inconvenient.

In addition to evaluating similar experiences, teachers draw upon other techniques in relating children's immature communications to scientific procedure. Teams of children work together to collect paper for a Red Cross drive, to get opinions as to the best place for a bicycle rack, to give a really accurate account from reading and from questioning adults as to how UNESCO operates in providing needed help for certain new schools in Asia. Team members challenge one another's opinions and observations often with such vigor that adult moderation must intrude. But differing talents on a team illustrate one of the techniques of arriving at clarity, sometimes at objectivity.

In studying the ice age and the results of glaciation, a fifth-grade group raised many questions which could not be conclusively answered with present knowledge. Will there ever be another glacier covering this town? If a glacier like the one in Greenland could be dynamited and dissolved would it form again? Did the animals who were trapped in ice know what was happening to them? Precise answers to these conjectural questions were seen to be impossible. "Maybe we'll know someday, but we don't now." "This is the best idea people have about it, but no one can prove he's right." These were statements which summed up a healthy state of suspended judgment. Waiting for further data in the case of these dramatic curiosities could be vividly sensed. Application of this scientific attitude to other problems will have at least some foundation in experience. Experiments in science, in plant growth, evaporation, conductors and nonconductors also help to strengthen respect for the steps of gathering all available data and of testing a conclusion before making pronouncements. Thus do related disciplines contribute to understanding and to effective use of scientific method. Thus do adult and juvenile worlds come into mutual understanding.

Problems of Special Importance to Reading

THE NATURE OF READING MATERIALS IN THE SOCIAL STUDIES

Reading in the social studies shares with other reading the problem of drawing upon a reservoir of concepts which illuminate the mere words. One of the reasons the modern elementary school finds science-reading, both factual and pseudo-science material, so highly popular with children is that reality behind the words is so

often discerned by the children. The data are tangible, in many cases, or close enough to sight, touch, and sound as presented by pictures, radio, and television, that only a little extension of the vicarious experience is necessary to bring the words to life. In social studies many abstractions and generalizations are likely to be found in the reading material, particularly in textbooks and in general references. Eskridge found children quite unable to form accurate concepts for geographic terms from reading alone, even from the reading of several texts.² He found that meanings were adaptations which must emerge from firsthand experience and its clarification.

The experience of sensitive teachers has long substantiated this conclusion. Except as meanings are developed through multiple sensory experiences and shaped into ideas through expression and use, they are not available when the individual faces visual symbols. Even though words may often be rendered orally, the appropriate meaning may be absent. Hence, the intellectual importance of a wealth of learning media for both the primary-school pupil and for the intermediate-grade pupil whose important reading task is the extension and refinement of meanings in reading.

DEVELOPING SELECTIVE, CRITICAL READING

A second task of importance to reading in the social-studies program is that of learning to read selectively and critically. Too often this goal is disposed of through the assignment of certain pages to find the answers to given questions. Gans discovered that children do not hold assigned questions in mind beyond the fifth paragraph of assigned reading.³

The most fruitful procedures used at present to avoid this dilemma are exemplified in the realistic preparation for reading which some teachers provide their pupils. One class, embarking upon a study of machines and their service to people, brought to school many toys which were machines in miniature. Steam engines, a

2. Thomas J. Eskridge, Jr., "Growth in Understanding of Geographic Terms in Grades IV-VII," *Research Studies in Education*. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1939.

3. Roma Gans, *A Study of Critical Reading Comprehension in the Intermediate Grades*. Teachers College Contributions to Education, No. 811. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1940.

machine gun, model tractors, jeeps, trucks, model cars, and planes threatened to overcrowd the shelves set aside for them. Books about machines and inventors were collected. Their teacher read to them from a number of books and pamphlets of the work these machines could do and also of their displacement of workers and the safety problems they brought in their wake. A science teacher came to talk about the basic machines found in many of the complex mechanical toys in the collection. This exploration of the subject was not merely an intellectual preparation; attitudes and feelings were stirred, and ethical notions of human welfare were shown to have some relationship to physics. The tremendous scope of the study began to become apparent. Individual choices of activity and committee responsibilities could be intelligently planned.

From such background of information and concern for people and change, many different leads emerged. Some children became excited over the importance of the wheel. Who first made a wheel? Is a big wheel stronger than a little one made of the same material? Who thought of cogwheels and of getting cogwheels of different sizes to work together as gears? Is there any special number of spokes in a wheel, or can you put in any number? Are inventors still figuring out new jobs for wheels? In this study, as is so often true, the teacher knew when the class was really gripped by interest in machines. Questions became specific, pointed, insistent. The child's natural quest for details showed through.

When these children began to comb their bookshelves and library for pertinent data, they were ready to read selectively. They really cared about what they were looking for. Each searcher was part of a big enterprise of which his contribution was a discrete part. Continuing to use pictures and objects, they built further meanings from non-book sources and checked their readings against them. Finding vague statements led to questioning as to whether the author knew what he was writing about, and from this stemmed an important lesson in questioning whether the authors of a particular book were authorities.

Settling the matter of authoritative sources is difficult for elementary-school children. Perhaps only a beginning can be made, but even that beginning is important. Pointing out obvious discrepancies between two textbook accounts can be merely confusing,

or it can be done in such a way as to build appreciation for the difficulty of getting and giving data accurately. Children who have themselves tried to find and tell what really happened in some skirmish on the playground or in adults' selection of a near-by factory site may understand both the difficulty and the obligation to report as honestly as one can with the facts one can get. Opening up the problem and seeing how carefully certain authors work to get their material may be as far as the elementary-school teacher need go. Certainly debunking and devaluating everything in print is to be avoided. So, too, is reverence for everything in print, even in school textbooks.

Beyond the child's intellectual difficulty in reconciling differing accounts of the same facts or conditions lies the emotional challenge to his assurance about reality. Concern for a child's security is warranted, of course, in the social studies as in other learnings, but over-protection lies woefully close to such concern. For many children, zest for discovery finds its own reward in considering conflicting data. For some, there is evident glee in learning that adults do not know everything, and this extends to the adults who wrote books which reveal opposing evidence. Others soberly accept uncertainty when a mature, man-to-man approach characterizes the teacher's relationships with them. To live in a realm of on-going discovery and reappraisal may offer no particular hardships to many children who begin to sense that adults live always with uncertainty in many areas of their lives. For those children unable to make this step of growth, it is of first importance that they experience respectful patience and reliability in their elders.

USE OF A SINGLE REQUIRED TEXTBOOK

Procedures leading to selective critical reading in social studies are premised upon children's having a number of books at their disposal. Extensive reading from many sources is one of the key characteristics of the emerging program. Intensive reading and re-reading of a single textbook continues in wide use, but there are few who defend it as good practice. Neither from the standpoint of getting various views of the same topic nor from the standpoint of individual differences of the learners can the use of a single text be championed.

The dangers of memoriter learning, when teaching and testing are based upon a single text, are too obvious to need exposition. The limited horizons of even the best of a single series are even more dangerous in a world society in which fluidity of population becomes ever more dramatic. Moreover, the practical problem of readability imposes itself with aggravating stubbornness in a one-textbook situation. Most social-studies books measure higher in readability than the average reading ability of the grades for which they are intended. There are overwhelming frustrations in using a textbook of fifth-grade readability in a fourth grade, whose range of reading capacity inevitably stretches from about second grade to eighth grade. Classes, even when supposedly homogeneous in reading ability, contain a wide range of reading power needing widely varied materials. A single social-studies textbook is usually too difficult for many and too easy for others in any classroom, thus limiting the number who can use it independently with real success.

Several uses of textbooks are illustrated in good current practice. Some teachers, in building readiness for a unit of study, try to select those experiences which will equip the children with concepts needed for the reading. The period of preparation already described as regards the history of machines and their effect upon man necessitated films, oral reading by the teacher, good stories, anecdotes, pictures, trips, maps, exhibits, and a suitable collection of books. Class use of portions of the textbook may involve scanning, listening to, or following the print while others read, examination of pictures, and raising questions. At this exploratory stage, the textbook should be only one source of information, aided by the teacher, by illustrative materials, and by related experiences.

A later use of the same textbook may be in the nature of a summary. Re-reading for a general round-up of ideas to see if the class had slighted any essentials may occupy the able readers. Some paragraphs of dubious meaning to the children may be read aloud, sentence by sentence, and analyzed in the light of pictures, stories, and other materials in the classroom. A hand-made movie on colonial settlement (sequential pictures on a roller curtain) may be edited as to sequence by reading or re-reading the textbook. A further re-reading may be necessary to cement certain ideas to be narrated with the viewing of the movie.

Organizing a study of the industrial revolution by making a timeline may well use textual scanning and careful re-reading. Reading to check the points the class understands and to list those on which they need further detail is still another use the wise teacher makes of required textbooks. The slavish reciting of texts which once was the trademark of the "good" pupil has no place in a program of social studies devoted to goals of social sensitivity, responsibility, and the use of scientific methods of inquiry.

REFERENCE-READING AND NOTE-TAKING

Certain reference skills are an integral part of the social-studies curriculum. How to locate topics in an index, in reference books, or in picture or pamphlet files can be learned with considerable efficiency by elementary-school pupils. First- and second-graders are shown the tables of contents and indexes of some books. They play with and read picture dictionaries and are led to deduce how they are arranged. They make a spelling dictionary in which to locate some words they need. They are shown how books are arranged on a library shelf. Quite a few second-graders can go along a library shelf to find the "S" authors to locate their beloved Dr. Seuss. Third-graders see how an encyclopedia is arranged and shelved and can follow the teacher's explanation of how he finds the right volume for *electricity* and *Indians*. As able readers catch on, they, too, can explain how they find topics and often guide the finding process for those who have difficulty in deciding upon clue words.

The kinds of reference-reading already sketched in this chapter embrace two purposes: the exploration of general components of a new topic and the selection of specifics for some clearly focused purpose. Involved as these goals are with reporting to a group and with solving practical local problems, the skill of note-taking becomes immediately important. Note-taking, along with study-type reading, presents an integration of skills which needs careful diagnostic teaching. To proceed too rapidly or too slowly risks learning losses.

The sequence of skills which some good elementary-school teachers seek to develop in note-taking may be outlined as follows:

Kindergarten. Picture-drawing to show the facts or ideas to be presented. Block building, sand, clay, or other representation. Teacher is asked to label salient parts.

Grades I and II. Picture drawing; child dictates title or descriptive labels; teacher writes; child shows and reads. Child finds sentence or passage pertinent to class or individual question or interest; puts marker in book; reads at appropriate time to class; leads discussion. Child formulates appropriate labels for drawing or exhibit.

Individual dictates a sentence based upon observation and reading; teacher writes. As writing-skill warrants, the child copies in his own handwriting.

Grades III and IV. More complex representations: replica, model, picture, diagram, illustrated map. More complex labeling of parts, asking teacher for help with spelling. Individuals or group dictate phrase memoranda or sentences based upon observation or reading; pupil copies appropriate dictated memoranda for his report.

Child tells about reading or observation in conference with teacher who makes brief memoranda of sequence; child and teacher interpret memoranda; child uses them in report to class.

Child locates pertinent reading material, reads with no notation, re-reads until he is sure of ideas (two or more times); puts page marker in book for reference if needed; talks informally to small group.

Child copies phrase or sentence from reference, giving exact number, size, comparison, or other precise data; records book title and page.

Grades V and VI. All of the above techniques of note-taking with more complex materials and more elaborate labeling.

Children are urged to take no notes during the first reading, to read as many times as needed to get the ideas so as to minimize note-taking labor.

Copy exact sentences or phrases, giving author, title, pages.

Group or class exercises in note-taking. Locate pages using index. Cite goal—what to find out. Scan pages to see if passage is pertinent. Read pertinent passage for general sequence. Re-read two or more times to choose “remembering clues.” Discuss different ways of phrasing clues; point out individual differences in choice of clues. Value individuality; use “broken” phrases. Recheck findings with goal. Emphasize crediting source: author, title, publisher, page. For children who write laboriously, accept abbreviations for bibliographical citations. Note that handwriting quality differs with purpose; notes must be readable by the writer, not necessarily by another.

Individual application of general techniques taught to class. Necessary to provide opportunity for child to tell clues often before writing them. Oral step needed to clarify and to select. Illustrate dangers of superficial reading and too lengthy note-writing. Emphasize economy of

effort. Able sixth-graders learn to use *Readers' Guide*, card index, to take brief notes to recall whole passage.

THE LIBRARY IN RELATION TO THE SOCIAL-STUDIES PROGRAM

The reading aspect of the social-studies program can be carried on with richness herein assumed only if the school library is well stocked and readily available to children many hours a day. The growth of elementary-school libraries in the past two decades is most heartening. Both fact and fiction, in a great range of readability and covering a wide scope of classifications, are needed to reward the out-reach of even a moderate-sized pupil population. Just how large a library is needed by a school of five hundred or a thousand children is, of course, undetermined. Conservatively viewed, such a library should be at least as large as for an equal number of highly literate adults.

Reference skills are a part of library teaching in many schools. Both the librarian and the classroom teacher share responsibility for teaching the techniques of using card indexes, encyclopedias, and for finding books according to the shelving plan used. Periodicals and their storage and use are, likewise, the subject of library teaching though only a few children are found to be able to use the *Readers' Guide*, even in late sixth grade. Alphabetized picture files and film slides are housed in the library in many schools, and their use, too, is a reference skill of considerable import.

Special services are rendered by the library to classes embarking on a topic of study. Often a committee of children confer with the librarian about a forthcoming study of medieval castle-life, requesting that a shelf or table be set aside for their class to use in the library and that a selection of books for heavy-duty use in the classroom be charged to the class.

The community library is likewise used as a resource for class and individual visits and for special loans. Schools and communities having no local libraries can often borrow them from their state traveling libraries.⁴

So important is this matter of adequate resources for wide and selective reading that it might fairly be said that where there is no

4. See Lucy Tomkins, "Where To Get Books for Fairs and Exhibits," *Junior Libraries*, I (September 15, 1954), 40-45.

good library for children's use the social-studies program cannot reach its full potential.

FICTION READING IN THE SOCIAL-STUDIES PROGRAM

The conflict over values of the historical novel or fictionalized biography in adult education applies in some measure to children's reading. Accurate presentation is essential in the selection of fiction for children, but more than accuracy of facts is involved. The task of helping children to personalize the data of social studies is perhaps best assumed by good fiction either in books or on the screen. Identification is essential to the building of sympathy with a people, whether of another area or another era. In fiction reading this identification with a hero or heroine not only assists the reader's vicariously entering into the life and struggle and feeling of the character but this kinship with book *dramatis personae* also quickens the sense of social drama in which the identification takes place. Questions about point of view, about how people live, about their values, and about their economic standards and problems are inevitable.

One of the functions which textbooks can assume only in part is to supply sufficient concrete detail for children to generalize adequately. It is here that trade books fill an important niche. Details of dress, of speech, of customs, details of family life and community interaction—these and other mores woven into narrative structure give the young imagination some of the sustenance needed for projective imagination and the eventual residue of general, organized concepts.

Never before—and this is no idle superlative—has there been such a wealth of literature for children and teachers to choose from in books related to social studies. Each year since the mid-century, publishers and authors have produced approximately a thousand new titles and a respectable list of reprintings. In almost every social-studies area children's literature offers some of its riches. In some communities little of this wealth is available; in others much is at hand from which to choose. The more limited the budget the more selective must the buyer become.

Probably the first criterion for selection of any book in social studies is the author's qualifications. Ann Petry studied minutely the background from which she wrote the story of the triumphant slave,

Harriet Tubman, and ends each chapter with some of the supporting evidence. Marguerite De Angeli went to Scotland to reaffirm certain details before completing *The Door in the Wall*. A brief biographical statement about modern juvenile authors may serve as a beginning point in the search for authors' qualifications.⁵

A second criterion for selecting books is the clarity with which the book tells its story. Librarians' opinion can be sampled from *Junior Libraries* and from many magazines and newspapers. Juvenile opinion can be had from *Junior Reviewers*.⁶ Even more desirable is the practice of seeking direct reactions from children locally. Committees can help make selections in several ways: by reading borrowed books from town libraries, by scanning books at book fairs and exhibits, by examining reviews and advertising material. Clearly, adult guidance is needed in any such co-operative scheme.

The extent to which illustration adds to the story in an aesthetic manner appropriate to the text is a third criterion. It is not to be assumed that the most copiously illustrated book is necessarily the best, nor that the most colorful one will add most to the children's understanding. Color undoubtedly appeals to children but so, too, does black and white illustration. When the appeal of vitality is also considered, the question of color falls into reasonable proportion.

Other criteria exist, of course. Both staff and pupils may share in the statement of standards for book purchase and selection for given purposes. This gradual development of book standards should become itself a goal of teaching social studies.

Kinds of Research in Elementary Schools

MATERIALS AND ACTIVITIES RECOMMENDED

A good modern classroom contains much more than textbooks and writing equipment. It also contains many other books, both of fact and fiction, and at least a few juvenile or adult periodicals, some of them copiously illustrated. Further, a schoolroom today contains still other materials not seen in classrooms in times past:

5. *Junior Book of Authors*. Edited by S. J. Kunitz and H. Haycraft. New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1951.

6. *Junior Reviewers*. Edited by William E. Dennen, 11 Easton Court, Wellesley Hills 82, Massachusetts.

clay, wood, paint, and crayons; a costume box; a science center; a puppet stage; bulletin boards listing plans for study, for trips, and for holidays as well as charts, maps, graphs, and other visual records of children's interests and of their work. Evidence abounds in some modern classes that the pupils are learning from the world beyond the school walls. Evidence abounds that children are relating their in-school learnings with community-wide learnings and that they use a host of learning sources both in and out of school. Many of these learning activities are truly research activities as previously defined. They are carried on in a true spirit of inquiry using firsthand sources or those deemed most authentic; evidence is weighed and checked in several ways. In best modern practice, both in primary and later grades, children are encouraged to check one book with another and to compare book accounts with known facts or with firsthand experience whenever possible.

RESEARCH IN PRIMARY GRADES

Beginning reading is presently taught in a fashion conducive to testing the truth of written symbols against the facts they symbolize. The experience chart, stemming as it does from firsthand and usually objective experience, provides every child some measure of participation in the reading process, broadly conceived. Even the child who cannot remember printed words can report that the bunny, subject of an interesting observation and written record, has five toes on each forepaw or that the young bunnies do not open their eyes until they are twelve days old. Rewarding curiosity tends to nurture interests for further pursuit. Physical proximity of the material or the experience to its printed representation may be said to characterize good beginning instruction. The nature of such reading instruction carries many implications for elementary research.

Further than this matter of reading method, research potentialities abound for primary children. A study of the school, its workers, and its operation, offers dozens of opportunities for firsthand research. How many rooms are in our hall? How many children come to school by bus? What does our principal do? What does our school nurse do? Who keeps our building clean and warm? How do they do it? Who cooks for our cafeteria? Where do they

get the food they cook? Answering these juvenile queries necessitates interviewing the persons who know and do; counting real things, questioning, and many kinds of observation.

A study of travel, frequently a part of primary curriculum, calls upon the firsthand experiences of children as well as those of friends and family. Trips to local bus terminals, railroad yards, and airports offer research opportunities to beginners of varying levels of maturity. Questions are planned for such excursions; other questions arise spontaneously at the scene of study. What does the Diesel engine use to make it go? Is it hard to keep it on the track? How much does a Diesel cost? Where was this one built? This range of curiosity is typical of the questions asked by first- and second-graders. The engineer or other persons assigned to conduct a group on an inspection tour is usually the authority whose word is accepted. Sketches made of the unique shape of the wheel rim, of the smokestack, or of the front of the new locomotive suffice as records of particular observations. Later research might necessitate the careful study of photographs or diagrams of Diesels.

Watching the local policeman direct traffic may be a research activity of true significance to a committee helping with a class study of safety. How does the officer signal cars to stop? How does he signal them to go ahead? Who should be listed on the school "Safety Honors" list? What does the policeman do if the driver doesn't stop when he is told to? How many children did the officer help from the time he went out to watch until we came in? How long a time was this? Second- or third-graders, whether able to read or not, carry on research of genuine vitality in social-studies projects focused upon problem-solving activities.

Of special interest in home-school relations is the kind of research children are asked to carry on at home. How many things did we buy at the supermarket this week that were made in our town? How many people work in the supermarket or in the bakery? What kinds of work do our own fathers and mothers do? Who is the oldest person in our house or in our neighborhood who can remember the first electric lights or the first buses in our town? Such questions, which are only a sample of those growing from the curiosity of an average group of pupils, use the home and community as laboratory resources for young children. However, they have

another merit here. They open to children three kinds of research: firsthand observation in a real laboratory, inquiry of authorities in their field of special knowledge, and classification of data in order to arrive at tentative answers. These activities have intrinsic validity as research procedures. They also mesh with purposeful reading and give support to meanings imprisoned by the written symbols.

RESEARCH ACTIVITIES OF ABLE READERS IN INTERMEDIATE GRADES

Able readers in later primary grades and in the middle grades continue all three of these research activities as, indeed, does the adult research student. In addition, the reader extends his research into the realm of symbols. "It says here . . ." is often the introduction to printed proof of some disputed point. The gleam of discovery shines in the eye of the investigator who tracks down a good account of how patiently the burro serves the prospector who owns him. Research reading for the elementary-school pupil is likely to begin with the location of pertinent material about the question in which he is genuinely interested. Specific purposes may vary widely, but the factor of curiosity is of prime and common importance. Without this *zeal to find out*, no true research is likely to occur. With this zest for discovery, which can be fanned by enthusiastic teaching, by vigorous and frequent class-sharing, and by the use of firsthand materials, the intermediate-grade pupil uses reading as a productive research tool. The element of search vitalizes the reading process as it vitalizes much of human endeavor.

Materials abound for the research reader. Texts and references may serve as general guides into a new territory for the able child. They may more often yield help as a summary of varied learnings by average readers and sometimes by a whole class. In addition, children also need diaries, records, and statistical data; they need almanacs, dictionaries, biographies, and historical fiction. But the motivation which carries the worker through his sometimes-arduous pursuits must be constantly re-fired through face-to-face contacts. The enthusiastic teacher and curious and appreciative peers seem, in most classes, to stir this renewal of energy.

Some primary sources offer considerable difficulty to all but the most gifted readers in intermediate grades. The journals of Sergeant

Ordway fascinated many children in one sixth grade which was studying the Lewis and Clark expedition. Excerpts were read aloud; only a few were able to read independently from this important source. Here is a challenge for gifted readers whose skill can take them far and wide. Studying rainfall data from the appendix of a good atlas in order to compare certain jungle conditions with rainfall "at home" necessitated careful guidance for another class in order to avoid shallow verbalism. Recalling earlier trips to the weather bureau, visiting another class to study the rain gauge they had made, and making accurate recordings of local rainfall for a month were activities which gave substance to the facts of rainfall in the jungles of the Amazon.

Elementary-school children can make only a beginning in learning to draw conclusions from firsthand data, whether those data be statistics, photographs, tape recordings, on-the-spot annotations, sketches, movies, or diaries. This beginning, however, is not only an important research skill but it also adds immeasurably to children's appreciation and intellectual curiosity—requisite ingredients of sound social participation.

RESEARCH FOR THE RETARDED READER IN INTERMEDIATE GRADES

Research processes such as those already sketched offer challenge and opportunity to the intermediate-grade youngster who has difficulty in reading. Of these activities, the more concrete examples hold the greater potential. Seeing, asking, making some pieces of apparatus for gathering data, and compiling simple records are possible even to the limited reader. One group studying rubber and its place in present-day life found that many research activities were needed for their work. Some of these activities required complex reading skills. Others were of the simplest order: In how many ways does this school use rubber? How much do different sizes of rubber tires cost? Do the rubber trees that people grow in their houses have real latex in them? Coupled with the activities illustrating various stages of the gathering of latex and the refining of rubber—making diagrams, setting up an exhibit of local uses of rubber, coloring maps to show rubber-producing regions—these research activities not only employed the poor readers happily but these very children made contributions to the work of the entire class. They

gained in status because they, too, worked on some activities shared by all the class and on some which were their special responsibility.

Techniques of Reporting in Social Studies

PLANNING REPORTING ACTIVITIES

Organizing class instruction for individual or committee reporting in the social studies has to a large extent supplanted the question-and-answer recitation. Values usually cited for the newer focus are those of richer social interaction, increased responsibility and satisfaction for the reporter, accommodation of individual differences, and a closer parallel to out-of-school procedures. When well planned and skillfully guided, many of these values undoubtedly emerge. However, hearing a mechanical reproduction of shallow information from a fellow classmate results in no richer learnings than from traditional lecturing or catechetical quizzing. Thorough preparation of both reporter and audience are essential if pupil reporting is to rise to any greater heights than did the memorized recitation or any of the methods now rather generally derided. Another caution, besides that of detailed preparation and varied illustrative materials, is that of length of time allotted for reporting. Reporting beyond the listening durability of the class is obviously wasteful. Length of time alone is not the decisive factor, however. Occasionally a single reporter can hold a group profitably for twenty minutes or even longer, but this is rare. If reports are brief and similar in substance and supporting illustration, only a few should be scheduled for one day. Both teacher and pupils need to be on guard against long-winded, dull reporting.

There are many styles from which to choose when a class is planning social-studies reports. The kind of material to be shared as well as the special talents of the reporter and interests of the audience determine the choices. Some of these forms of juvenile communication have been referred to in the selection on notetaking.

Oral narration or description *using a picture* or series of pictures as a guide appears as a frequent kind of reporting in the social studies. Pictures made by the reporter for the purpose must be large enough for the audience to see at normal distances. Labels and titles are usually needed. Pictures may be shown from texts, references, or

other books; from magazines and other ephemeral sources. They should be arranged in sequence if they can be seen while the narrator points out items of interest or asks questions. A small desk or table for the speaker is helpful. Often a partner is needed to hold and manipulate large illustrations. Slides, either professionally made or child-made, or pictures shown on an opaque projector, need the same safeguards as to timing, sequence, and visibility for all. The handmade box-and-roller "movie" offers the same necessities of oral preparation and manipulation by an assistant.

Dramatization, from the simple acting out of signals of the traffic officer to the carefully prepared play depicting the Olympic games, offers varied and purposeful forms of reporting. For informal plays in the classroom few properties are needed. An announcer, a listing of scenes on the blackboard, and only ordinary classroom appurtenances are needed. A play is sometimes prepared by a committee and shared with the class the same day. Others are carefully developed from original documents and worked out with considerable accuracy as to language forms, costumes, and scenery. An example of the latter type is the enactment of a portion of the Constitutional Convention by a sixth grade. Examples of the former sort are manifold: a "lesson" in a colonial school, loading bananas on a boat at a pier as the inspector watches, or Columbus' landing and taking possession of San Salvador.

Often a brief bit of dramatization may be part of a lengthier oral report. Sometimes a dramatized incident may introduce a report, either having an announcer take the lead in interpreting it or having the audience interpret and ask questions which are answered by the dramatizing committee. Considering children's natural propensities for dramatization and its efficacy in learning, there should be much more opportunity for reporting through many kinds of classroom plays.

Question-and-answer panels are a form of reporting now familiar to children through radio and television programs. They may be arranged in many ways. Usually the children should sit around a table with the moderator in a central position. For children in the primary grades it is often helpful for the chairman to have the questions printed on paper large enough for the audience to see. Panelists may answer the questions orally. In preparing for a presentation to

another class or to parents, the teacher may write children's answers from their dictation, help them with corrections, and write the responses large enough for all to see. This kind of panel obviously shares newly gained reading skills which, for primary-grade pupils, are a source of genuine pride. Spontaneous discussion supplements the reading framework. For older children, oral discussion is, of course, preferable. In either case, panels need to prepare and rehearse their questions, the sequence of events, and their cues. Unless well prepared, though not memorized, a panel discussion or question-answer presentation is usually a total waste of audience time.

Demonstration procedures with models, exhibits, costumes, and the like offer interesting ways of reporting. Audience attention is usually easier to focus when material objects are present. A borrowed candle-mold, a Viking ship model, and a set of dolls and flags representing members of the United Nations are only three of thousands of possibilities. Preparation by the reporter involves the best ways of displaying the material as well as his sequence of explanatory details. Telling and showing a committee first is a good practice-procedure.

Narration from notes is one of the more mature kinds of reporting which some fourth-grade pupils and older children learn to handle effectively. After research and study, assembling the data in some kind of order usually requires "talking it out" with someone. In the beginning the teacher makes notes as the child tells, then helps him see the outline as a guide to what he has said. He then uses this guide in presenting his information to the class.

As children develop more power in writing they may make notes in simplified outline form. Usually a great deal of teacher assistance is needed in this step of generalizing. Telling the teacher what one wants to say and co-operatively deciding upon a "remembering word" or a topic to use in one's outline remains a necessary process for most elementary-school children. Group exercises in making simple outline guides are sometimes helpful, but many children will need additional help when they attempt to apply these techniques to materials they have collected individually.

Written reports can be shared with a group by display or by reading aloud, or both. In either case, illustrative material is needed both for clarity and for stimulating varied interests. Practice in

reading a written report is sharpened in efficiency by working with a partner. Partners read their reports to each other, correct sentences which may not be clear, alternate in holding illustrations or demonstrating with models or other objects. Smooth, effective oral reading to the class is a requisite for holding class interest. Practice for this occasion should be as definitely planned as any other teaching activity.

Bulletin-board displays of written reports can follow oral reading or can, at times, substitute for reading a report. Along with illustrations, maps, charts, or three-dimensional exhibits, a bulletin board display in hall or classroom serves to unify fragmentary learnings and to bring personal satisfaction to individuals or group. Occasionally it is helpful for older children to mount a series of reports so as to show original "rough" notes, the writer's outline-plan made with his teacher, his first draft of the written report, and the final, carefully copied product. This serves to show the many steps necessary in gathering data, organizing them, writing, correcting, and presenting the final form. Learning these techniques is essential in other disciplines as well as in social studies. Seeing the steps in graphic form, after their completion, is not only personally gratifying to the reporter at the moment but also solidifies these learnings for future reporting in new areas.

Written reports themselves take many forms. They may be exposition, outline, question-and-answer, or narrative-cartoon style. They may be bound in booklets or collected in a large book for class display or in more conventional size for the library. Portfolios are excellent for the preservation of notes, clippings, pictures, and brief written statements. A written report can capture the inventiveness of many children in its format as well as in its challenging message.

INDIVIDUAL AND AUDIENCE INTERACTION

Preparing the audience for effective listening is an obligation of the reporter and of the teacher. Building a common background of interests should go on throughout any major study. When a class has reached the stage of a study in which everyone, or almost everyone, is preparing to report on his own special interest, the group needs some unifying experience which may also lead to eager listening later on. Almost everyday there should be a brief time for shar-

ing highlights. Asking if others have found "anything good" on the earliest kind of oil lamps or latest uses of solar heat often brings direct help as well as increased interest in the report to which one has made a small contribution. Posting pictures with captions or questions before one's report is finished is another helpful technique. So, too, is a request for certain materials on a "Help Wanted" bulletin board, such as a recipe for making soap or an appointment with someone who has worked as a forest ranger. A sense of mutuality and the cultivation of informed interest both result from this day-to-day sharing of progress and difficulty. It is doubtful whether any genuine interest in a report, no matter who gives it, is likely unless the audience possesses considerable pertinent information and lively concern.

Before a particular report of any length, the audience should have earlier related experiences brought briefly into focus and should have time to get physically comfortable and within hearing and seeing distance. The reporter himself must learn to use some techniques to capture audience interest in the beginning. These may be a pungent quotation, an anecdote, a good picture, or a placard hinting at some surprise bit to look for in the report to come. The initial stimulus may consist of asking the audience to answer some question or to perform some activity involving the subject upon which the reporter is to expound, such as jotting down guesses for the number of people who work in the local power plant or naming three things in the classroom made of steel.

In addition to preparing and goading the audience to react, reporters need to learn to sense audience interest. This seems very difficult for children who want the ego-satisfaction of enjoying the limelight, even if they have lost their audience. Sometimes the teacher must step in, ask a question or point out some graphic detail, and suggest that the reporter skip over to the part of his report where action holds interest. However, getting and using varied materials and careful preparation for reporting should preclude many such failures, else real damage is done. In group teaching, analysis should be made of those factors which hold interest. In individual or committee planning, each report should be checked in advance for interesting components as well as variety and length. Indeed, at every step of the way in developing reports, the teacher needs to

remember that the dual purpose of reporting embraces both reporter and the entire audience.

The number of forms of reporting available for children allow ample latitude for the shy child who needs to fortify himself with a planned progression of pictures, demonstrations, or specific contributions in a panel or "movie" serial. The verbose individual can be held in check by trying out his report with a partner, timing it, and cutting it as needed. The use of pictures or written notes can help further to hold the marathon talker to his subject. Occasionally the teacher will have to give a warning that only a few minutes more can be used and save face for the youngster by asking him to arrange his report and materials for visual display.

Of equal importance with building active audience interest is the follow-up discussion. In some classes the child immediately asks for comments and questions after his report. Where children have been schooled to look for constructive leads and to be positive in their reactions, this is most desirable. Sometimes questions open up new areas for study or give the reporter another chance to clarify a foggy point. Comments may bring in related ideas or experiences which help to tie up the new learnings to other centers of interest. In any case, both relatedness and clarity should be the goals of such follow-up discussion. Never should it degenerate to fault-finding. It takes no skill to say, "Johnny used too many 'ands.'" Careful assimilation and preparation often prevent repetitive "ands." In any case, public denunciation does not cure the ill. Because time pressures are always insistent, some teachers limit comments to two or three for each report. More can be accomplished at times by reserving discussion until several related reports have been completed.

VALUES OF ORGANIZING AND PRESENTING REPORTS

One does not know for sure whether a boat will float until it is put into water. A report has not achieved its destiny until it is communicated. Testing the clarity of a report can only be done by the audience. In this sense, reporting to an audience is an evaluating procedure. The quality of questions, the degree of interest, the comprehension of the listening group tell how the worker has succeeded. After a series of reports, outstanding techniques may be noted, clear illustrations pointed up, forceful statements of ideas recalled. In this

way both individual satisfaction can be assured and a more impersonal evaluation of technique achieved.

Another learning which stems from organizing written or oral reports is the intellectual one of unifying the fragmentary learnings which are inevitable in the unevenness of normal growth. To be available for future use, learnings must be related, organized, evaluated. Academic as this seems, it is a natural part of children's constant urge to do and to tell. Teaching reporting with reference to both individual and social growth becomes part of an unbroken chain, using old learnings to plan new ventures. The cycle is continuous and dynamic.

CHAPTER IX

Education for Citizenship

JOHN H. NIEMEYER

Citizenship Education Defined

A student of our professional literature concerning the school's responsibility for teaching citizenship may well be troubled by the different ways in which the word "citizenship" is defined. Current writers seem to have gone beyond the earlier acceptance of citizenship as merely synonymous with personal virtues such as honesty, friendliness, and responsibility. Many of these educators think of citizenship as being concerned with all human relationships, while others urge us to limit our definition lest we fail to educate for better citizenship simply because our goals are too broad. Mahoney has defined civic education as follows:

Civic education includes and involves those teachings; that type of teaching method; those student activities; those administrative and supervisory procedures—which the school may utilize purposively to make for better living together in the democratic way; or [synonymously] to develop better *civic* behaviors.¹

The Thirty-second Yearbook of the American Association of School Administrators also takes the comprehensive view.

It [the yearbook] conceives of citizenship in broad terms—the citizen who gives true faith and allegiance to the United States of America has civic responsibilities that begin in his own home and extend in ever widening circles to the human and international problems beyond his own country's borders. To equip the citizen to meet these responsibilities, the school begins with respect for the individual personality and

1. John J. Mahoney, *For Us the Living: An Approach to Civic Education*, p. 39. New York: Harper & Bros., 1945.

on this foundation must build a foursquare program of knowledge and understanding, attitudes of loyalty, ability to act nobly for the common welfare.²

A recent brochure explaining the program of the Tufts Civic Education Center is more restrictive.

Yet civic education has clear limits. It deals with problems of public action, problems of common interest to all individuals in their capacity as citizens. To confuse these problems with problems of personal adjustment in the whole range of individual relationships is to invite failure in education for citizenship.³

Penrose urges the acceptance of even stricter boundaries.

... civic educators will do well to focus their attention on the political behavior definition of citizenship. In the United States this area centers around those liberties, privileges, and obligations of the citizen which are expressed in various constitutions and statutes, and interpreted in court decisions.⁴

While there are important values, as we shall see later, in the more specific definitions, it is the thesis of this chapter that those of us who are primarily concerned with the elementary school must think of citizenship education in broad terms. The importance of the elementary school's helping to produce effective citizens for our democracy-focused society, and the fact that citizenship demands many specific competencies and attitudes—these cannot be denied. However, our interest in a definition is that it helps us to determine the kind of program for civic education required of the elementary school. Let us, therefore, turn to one of the guiding principles (not objectively measurable but our most productive hypothesis) upon which we develop our programs for younger children, namely, that children will become what they are, that they will learn what they live. It follows, then, that if we want these children to be creatively participating members of their democratic

2. *Educating for American Citizenship*, p. 6. Washington: American Association of School Administrators, National Education Association, 1954.

3. *Making Better Citizens*, p. 12. New York: Civic Education Project (11 West Forty-second St.), circa 1952.

4. William O. Penrose, *Freedom Is Ourselves: Legal Rights and Duties of the Citizen as a Basis for Civic Education*, p. 25. Newark, Delaware: University of Delaware Press, 1952.

communities when they are adults, we must help them live as creatively participating members of their communities today. This means, in so far as the elementary school is concerned, that our task in citizenship education is to help children be socially sensitive, socially responsible, and socially intelligent members of their total school community and of their school subcommunities, with extensions whenever possible into the community beyond the school.

What do we mean by the three terms "sensitive," "responsible," and "intelligent"? The first two may be thought of as attitudes. An effective citizen is someone who has awareness, is sensitive to societal needs, problems, opportunities. But someone may be sensitive to, let us say, a traffic hazard existing in his community and never do more than complain, "Why don't *they* do something about this?" Beyond sensitivity there is need for a sense of personal responsibility, so that this hypothetical person will ask, not "Why don't *they*?" but "What can *I*?" and ask the question in an emotional context of courageous personal commitment. These two requisites for effective citizenship are apparently functions of the individual's emotions, his feelings about both his society and himself. But beyond these basic attitudes, something else is still needed: "know-how," skills and knowledge, the capacity for intelligent action. What to do? "An irate letter to the press? See a politician? Is there someone in the local government concerned about traffic problems? Are there civic organizations through which one can work? How find out if other people are concerned? Do I have any legal rights?"

In a small community a men's service club grew very much excited by a speaker's forceful presentation of the idea that, since the town did many things for boys, the club ought to start a basketball league for girls. The hat for contributions was about ready to start the rounds when a member stood up and said, "I'm all in favor of doing something for the girls in our town. But I don't see how we know so quickly that our money would be best spent upon basketball. Why don't we at this moment determine that we are going to do something and then get in touch with the superintendent of schools, maybe some people from social agencies, the police, and so on, and find out from them if they have any ideas about what girls in our community need most?" To sensitivity and the feeling of

responsibility this person was adding social intelligence which stemmed from knowledge of how his community functioned and from experience in reasoned group action to solve problems.

The Foundation: Emotional Health

Effective citizenship, then, depends upon a combination in the individual person of certain attitudes and certain skills, understandings, and knowledge. Quite naturally educators who are primarily concerned with the education of young children have become increasingly aware of the fact that at least the attitudes in this necessary combination are integrally related to the general emotional development of children. The attitude of sensitivity or awareness, the attitude of personal commitment in social action—those emotional forces in the individual are not simple entities but intricate complexes. For this reason, any professional staff which sets out to try to find answers to the question, "How can we help our children develop social sensitivity and social responsibility?" inevitably ends up studying ways of fostering general emotional health in the school. Pflieger and Weston, in their report on certain aspects of the five-year citizenship education study carried out in four elementary, two junior high, and two senior high schools in Detroit by the Detroit Public Schools and Wayne University bear testimony to this point.

As data about children were gathered, as ideas from others were examined, and as other educational and sociological theories were studied, the idea [that citizenship depends upon emotional adjustment] became a conviction.⁵

Regardless of the approach, they [the teachers] sooner or later focused attention on the emotional needs of children.⁶

Every sensitive teacher who has tried to guide younger children in any learning will say "amen" to the conclusion of these Detroit teachers that the pupil "cannot be loyal to the democratic way of living if he is incapable of living beyond himself. He cannot use skills of democratic living if he cannot satisfactorily relate himself to others." The following list of guideposts for improving citizen-

5. Elmer F. Pflieger and Grace L. Weston, *Emotional Adjustment: A Key to Good Citizenship*, p. 10. Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1953.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 131.

ship is also significant in showing that this group of teachers, as a result of an intensive search for ways to improve citizenship education, felt that emotional adjustment is the all-important base upon which citizenship can develop:

1. Teachers need to know as much about developing emotional adjustment as they do about teaching subject matter.
2. Teachers need to accept the idea that all behavior is caused.
3. Good citizenship depends on the quality of the relationships among people.
4. Teachers must help to give children the love and affection which they need.
5. Teachers must help make children feel that they are important.
6. Teachers and schools must find ways in which all children can experience success.
7. Mentally healthy children learn better.
8. Administrators need to be more concerned about the mental health of teachers.
9. Teachers and administrators need to give attention to their own mental health.
10. Both preservice and in-service training of teachers must emphasize the relationship of good mental health to citizenship.
11. Schools need to permit more opportunities for children to satisfy their fundamental needs and to work out their normal emotional disturbances.
12. A changed school organization does not assure a better citizenship program nor a better school.
13. Individuals should not be permitted to get lost.
14. Teachers need a clearer picture of their teaching obligations.
15. Continuous evaluation of school and classroom practices is necessary to determine the values of citizenship-education programs.⁷

But emotional health is not enough. It is important that we recognize that better education for citizenship will not result from some trick in school organization or some easy formula of new techniques but that it depends upon something happening deep in the emotional experience of children. Yet there is a danger here, too, if we are not accurate in judging "emotional adjustment" or if we forget that the basically important foundation for a structure is not the structure itself.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 132-41.

It has long been recognized that many teachers mistake mere conformity to adult wishes as evidence that a child is "well adjusted." It is easy to make the mistake of thinking that the "good" boy or girl in school will automatically be the good citizen in later years. Penrose writes:

Elementary-school teachers in particular have professed to educate for citizenship when they dealt with good manners, truthfulness, and honesty. Their justification for identifying this content with civic training comes from the expectation that behavior patterns so established will later "transfer" to large group or civic relationships. But too often their expectations have been unwarranted. For such activities as keeping paper picked up around one's desk and keeping potted plants faithfully watered tend to become ends in themselves instead of means to the end of effective citizenship.⁸

Much of the great danger, however, comes from the possibility that in accepting the truth of the emotional-adjustment-base concept we may forget that effective civic participation requires particularized attitudes, skills, understandings, and knowledge. We do not have enough evidence to support the assumption that a truly well-adjusted child will automatically develop effective citizenship behavior. There is some opposite evidence. Trager and Yarrow, in reporting the findings of the Philadelphia Early Childhood Project which studied the prejudices of children in kindergarten and Grades I and II and which experimented with techniques for changing attitudes, state, "The Project findings do not support the belief that prejudice develops only in the insecure child."⁹ They also point out that while a school which wishes to teach democratic human relations must be a school which sets up conditions to foster friendliness and successful learning, these conditions alone are not sufficient.

... friendliness in school and conditions to promote learning do not alone result in children's learning democratic attitudes or behavior. While a school *should* provide a social environment to promote good living together, this of itself will not give the children the necessary

8. Penrose, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

9. Helen G. Trager and Marian Radke Yarrow, *They Learn What They Live: Prejudice in Young Children*, p. 362. New York: Harper & Bros., 1952.

knowledge or experiences which will help to develop feelings and values necessary for improved human relations in and out of school.¹⁰

It may be argued that the out-of-school community pressures are more heavily weighted against the development of democratic *interpersonal* and *intergroup* attitudes than they are against the development of democratic *civic* attitudes. If this is true, then we can perhaps expect more automatic or "transfer" civic attitudes to grow out of a school environment which is emotionally healthful. But the attitudes of American youth and the observations of any intelligent person about the civic behavior and the attitudes toward politics of many "educated" Americans are certainly sufficient reason for our not assuming that our task can be accomplished with any halfway measures.

A Planned Program

If the elementary school is to become more successful in educating for democratic citizenship, the school will be concerned about what we might term the "emotional base" but will, in addition, have a *deliberately planned program* for guiding children in growing up as socially sensitive, responsible, and intelligent members of a democratic society. Let us turn now to the consideration of such a program, realizing, of course, that the elements which compose a total program can be treated adequately only in a book and not in a portion of one chapter. Fortunately, there exist many resources upon which interested teachers and professional groups may call for assistance. Among the most valuable books are two reports of the Detroit Citizenship Education Study.¹¹ Many schools, school systems, and colleges are receiving valuable assistance from the Citizenship Education Project of Teachers College, Columbia University, and from the Civic Education Project of the Tufts Civic Education Center at Medford, Massachusetts. While the services and materials of these projects are directed chiefly toward school levels above the

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 357-58.

11. Stanley E. Dimond, *Schools and the Development of Good Citizens: Final Report of the Detroit Citizenship Education Study* (Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1953); and Arnold R. Meier, Florence Damon Cleary, and Alice M. Davis, *A Curriculum for Citizenship: A Total School Approach to Citizenship Education* (Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1952).

elementary, useful adaptations can be made to programs for younger children. Of special value as a resource is the 1954 yearbook of the American Association of School Administrators. This publication not only defines the philosophical justification for intensive effort in citizenship education but offers a wealth of practical program suggestions. Helpful suggestions for planning a program will also be found in *Education for Democratic Citizenship*, the 1951 yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies, and in *Learning the Ways of Democracy*, the 1940 report on outstanding citizenship-education practices in selected schools, issued jointly by the Educational Policies Commission, the National Education Association, and the American Association of School Administrators.

PERSONAL INVOLVEMENT

The citizenship-education program in any school requires that the attitudes of the teachers and the climate of the entire school support the program. Are the teachers, supervisors, and administrators people, who, themselves, are interested in civic affairs? Do they feel: "I am important in social action," or do they ask, "Why don't *they* do something about things?" Is the school for them a community in which *they* act as sensitive, responsible, intelligent citizens? If it is not, their having formulated what they mean by "democracy" or "good citizenship" will have lost much of its value for the children.

An effective citizenship-education program requires that the school plan experiences for children to give them a sense of personal involvement in the life of their community. A good citizen has the feeling that he *belongs*, that it is *his* town, *his* state, *his* nation, and *his* world. And so the school must strive to give each child this sense of being involved in the community of the classroom, the community of the club or other special group, the community of the entire school. To the extent possible, of course, the school will extend the child's participation-unit out into the community beyond the school. The laboratory experiences for schools proposed by the Teachers College Citizenship Education Project will prove suggestive to many elementary-school educators. But essentially, the participation or involvement units for which the school can make consistent plans are the units of the school itself.

One unit in which children can be involved in the life of the school community is the whole category of service jobs so often performed by children: caring for plants and animals in the classroom, taking responsibilities for keeping attendance and other records, running errands, serving as guides or hosts and hostesses, and many others, including, of course, the very important service on the Safety Patrol. That these jobs are often significant to the children is evident. Talks with parents will frequently elicit such remarks as, "Oh, my boy just lives for that Safety job." The chief responsibility of the teaching staff is to see that the children assigned to these jobs perform real and necessary services in the school and to help them see the relationship of their activities to the general welfare.

Unfortunately, we have progressed very little toward making our schools places in which children can assume some significant responsibility for the physical work involved in operating the school community. This was a goal much discussed by educators in the 1930's. Apparently, we must wait for a new context of social forces before it is realized. In some nonpublic schools, pupils help with painting and repairs, cut the grass, do the wiring for the stage, and help run the cafeteria, but we have done almost nothing to reduce the very important barriers to this type of child-community involvement in the majority of the public schools.

STUDENT GOVERNMENT

Student councils and other forms of student government offer many opportunities for the types of pupil involvement we are advocating. Councils are often justified chiefly on the ground that they give children practical experience in the workings of representative government. More important than this, however (as Dewey liked to point out), is the consideration, "Is the experience good or bad?" One wonders what the impact is upon the child who goes through years of school vaguely aware that some other child every once in a while goes to something called a "council." This "something" never has any real effect upon his own life. No problems by which he is truly troubled are ever solved by it. Oh, he sees that the teachers seem to like the idea, and there are moments when he experiences wishful pangs about being the lucky person who gets to

do this thing that is different . . . but. . . For such a child (and there are many of them in our classrooms today), these first contacts with "representative government" are certainly far from beneficial. If the *form* of government is to have positive significance to the child, he must feel that the functioning of that government is important in his life. We must continue to experiment with "student government" in our schools, but our emphasis must be upon this problem of meaning for the child—again, the question of involvement.

Many student councils might be improved if the following points were given consideration:

1. The limitations of responsibility should be clearly and consistently outlined. Children can be given the right to make decisions in only a relatively few areas of responsibility. Let the teachers decide which powers can be delegated to the children, and then let the children exercise these powers—even to the extent of making mistakes.
2. Every effort should be made to encourage the council to consider problems which are truly important to the children. When the teachers are seeking help from the children in solving a problem which does not seem a problem to the children, let the teachers present the situation honestly. The noise in the cafeteria, for example, may not be a problem to the children, and yet it can well be a school problem which the teachers want to ask the co-operation of pupils in solving. Such distinctions may seem at first to be extremely fine, and yet they are essential if our emphasis is to be placed upon *meaning*.
3. It should be remembered that the work of the representatives is only an extension of democratic actions centered in the classroom groups. If there is need for a council, or some other co-ordinating body, it is because the actions of the "grass roots" groups in the school need co-ordinating leadership. Seen in this light, a weekly short discussion in the classroom of the report "brought back from council" is woefully inadequate.
4. Nearly all elementary schools experience difficulty with the inability of the representatives of the youngest grades to report accurately. Many schools have found value in a bulletin written by older children and the teacher adviser after the council meeting. Some schools have older pupils act also as helpers to the youngest children in reporting both to the classroom and to the council.
5. Ingenuity is required to keep the council from being a remote mystery to the large majority of the children. Some schools find it helpful to have the council conduct several meetings each year on the stage of the auditorium. Others find it helpful to invite each grade to sit in as a visiting audience at one of the meetings.

CLASSROOM CITIZENSHIP

In extending a point made above, we need to remember that although our adult governments are nearly all representative, a great deal of the vitality of our democracy flows from what we think of as our grass roots. In the school community, likewise, the democratic vitality is more likely to result from the hour-by-hour, day-by-day activities in the classroom than from any over-all governmental organization. It is to these activities that we must look for the majority of experiences which will bring about that sense of personal involvement which we are considering. These necessary activities or experiences depend upon a co-operative method and spirit of developing the classroom program, such as that exemplified in teacher-pupil planning.

Teacher-pupil planning will perhaps remain a vital force and not degenerate into a sterile form if the teacher realizes that its purpose is to give children a sense that the life they are leading in the school is important and meaningful to them, that it is *their* life, and that they are involved in all its aspects. With this criterion in mind, the teacher will not allow teacher-pupil planning to be limited to a meeting once a day in which "plans" are discussed and written on the board. Such discussions are important, of course, but they are not sufficient. The kind of planning that engenders a sense of involvement is a much more continuous process, a kind of flowing interaction between teacher and pupils. In deciding upon large topics or projects to be studied, small subsections of the larger units, more specific activities, goals, methods of evaluation, etc., the children need to participate in the thinking which is required. A teacher who is expected to follow a general course of study in the social studies may start off with more prescribed boundaries than one who is not, but if there is room for flexibility within the boundaries, there is still room for much co-operative thinking. Furthermore, the opportunities for throwing the responsibility for doing good thinking back on the shoulders of the children are not limited to what is usually thought of as the social-studies program.

At the risk of oversimplification, it might be said that the key to effective teacher-pupil planning is for the teacher not to give all the answers. This can happen when the teacher has faith in the thinking ability and the good judgment of children. As soon as he

develops such a faith, he finds himself asking the child: "What do *you* think?" "How do *you* think it might be done?" "I wonder how we should word this topic." "Would you say that doing this is really important for everyone?" He does not do this as a meaningless ritual, asking questions unnecessarily or without really expecting an answer. On a bitter cold day he does not ask the silly question, "Do we need to wear our hats and coats for recess?" Astute questioning is not the only way, of course, to keep the responsibility for learning and growing up where the responsibility belongs—on the child. Helping the child evaluate his own progress, eliminating (or trying to minimize the effects of) devices such as marks and awards which permit the child to put the responsibility for the evaluation of himself off on someone else, developing units of study out of children's interests and prior experience and knowledge, having children participate in planning home assignments on the basis of need—the list can be very long, if the teacher has pupil involvement as his purpose.

Will this kind of hour-by-hour, day-by-day experience help the children become good citizens? Since the human personality is so complex, we shall not have any definitive answers to questions like this until we, nationally, set up a Manhattan Project on Human Energy which will mobilize all our best resources to search for cause-and-effect relationships in large samplings of people over several generations. But for reassurance, all we need to do is to step into classrooms and watch the social behavior of children who do feel deeply involved in their small school community.

We hear five-year-olds saying: "Come on, I'll help you put these blocks away so they can get the tables set," or, "Teacher, I don't know what to do when he pushes me because I'm always hurtin' him," or, "We've all got to be careful how we walk or we'll knock down all these things we've set up for the circus." We see a large group of six-year-olds remaining quiet when they are off-stage during the play which they, themselves, have created, with every child determined that neither he, nor anyone else, is going to "spoil things." We see eight-year-olds, without need of reminders from the teacher, following directions carefully on the trip to the quarry for which they have excitedly done thorough planning. We watch a roomful of nine-year-olds working silently, helping one another

freely but quietly—with the teacher in another room—during a “catch-up-on-the-things-we-need-most-to-do” period which they have conceived and planned. We hear eleven-year-olds saying, “We think that Rosalie ought to represent us on the assembly-planning committee because she never gets a chance to do this sort of thing.”

Yes, the voices and actions of the children are convincing. Would that a whole generation of men and women might enter adult citizenship after having lived for years in classrooms in which they felt involved in and personally responsible for the welfare of their small communities.

PROBLEM-SOLVING

Allied to the above point concerning involvement, but deserving of special mention, is the fact that specific education for citizenship requires giving children abundant practice in problem-solving. Again, we do not possess evidence that such experiences during the early years will inevitably result in the child's growing into an adult with desirable problem-solving skills. But everything we know about environmental forces in personality development points to the assumption that the individual *who is emotionally capable* of utilizing critical-mindedness and reasonable judgment in attacking problems will have these powers developed and made more effective by years of practice in situations which require them.

Teachers may sometimes be frightened away from giving serious consideration to the place of problem-solving in their classroom programs by intricate definitions and complex schemes for establishing problem-solving procedures. Essentially all that is required is that teachers sit down with children to talk through problems in an effort to arrive at reasonable solutions. Some problems will be brought up by the teachers, others by the children themselves. The problems may involve situations related to the academic program or situations involved in people's living together in a classroom or school community. But, whatever its source, each will be one that troubles the participants so that they feel a need for finding ways of effecting a change or finding a solution.

Three boys in fourth grade are accused by the school safety patrol of causing disturbances on their school bus. The charges are brought to the teacher, who talks to the three boys and tries to

ascertain exactly what has happened. The children start blaming other children and give the teacher the impression that conditions on the bus are far from ideal. She says to the boys, "I can see that this is really a problem involving everybody on your bus. Let's go down to the principal and perhaps she will get the entire group, driver and children, together to talk out this problem."

The meeting of the bus group is held. The teacher poses the problem as she understands it and then asks how the others see it. There is a burst of accusations and recriminations. The teacher says, "Wait a minute. Maybe some of these things are true. But is what Arthur did the the real problem we are discussing? Let us think, what is the problem we are trying to solve?" There are serious attempts to define the problem. Finally, there emerges a clearer picture of what the important elements of the problem are. There is the somewhat resented attitude of the safety patrol, there is the fact that no one has been quite sure what the driver required about seating arrangements, there is confusion about some of the "rules."

And as the discussion goes on, facts are checked constantly. "Arthur, is that the way it really happened?" "Mrs. S., it just isn't right, Jonathan's telling that we hog the back seat. Ask Edith and Bill here." "Betty, would you agree that maybe you haven't made it clear to Bill that he may not save the seat for his pals?" As the discussion continues, suggestions for solutions begin to emerge, and finally there is agreement that certain changes will be tried for the next week. At the end of the trial period, there will be another meeting to check results.

The entire procedure is businesslike, with the focus not upon finding someone to blame but upon getting at the problem and trying to set up some workable solutions. And in the process, something has happened to the entire group. The day after the original discussion, one of the "bad" boys whispers to his teacher as he comes into the room, "Things were a lot better this morning, Mrs. S." No wings have sprouted on this boy, but one wonders if he—along with many of the other children on the bus—hasn't taken one small step further along the road to good citizenship.

An important point to remember is that real problems are always disturbing. The emotional load engendered by different problems will vary, of course, but every problem—if it is to have value in

giving children practice in what we term "problem-solving"—will in some way demand a solution. Let us remember, also, that the problems in adult life which require problem-solving skill on the part of the citizen are fraught with emotion: problems of zoning, employee-employer relations, farm policy, etc.

The type of problem which is being discussed here differs significantly from those "problems" which are so often posed in textbooks or by teachers in outlines for, let us say, social-studies units. The "problems": "To find out how the New England colonial people dyed their cloth" or "To determine the reasons that so many of our ancestors left their homelands to colonize the New World" are different essentially because in them the pupils do not have any real emotional stake. Does this type of nonpersonal, nonemotional problem offer any value in the developing of critical-mindedness or the ability to solve problems? The weight of professional opinion indicates that it does have such value. Certainly, practice in defining the questions we seek to answer, searching for various sources of information, evaluating the degrees of validity of the evidence found, and arriving at conclusions which are in harmony with the relative certainty of our proof—such practice would seem to nourish the ability to use the scientific method. It is possible, also, that these techniques may be learned best in solving problems which are not charged with emotion.¹² Yet, it is the purpose of this chapter to emphasize the need for providing experiences for children to attack problems in which they *are* emotionally involved. Obviously, being emotionally involved only by the desire to obtain a "good mark" or avoid a bad one is not an acceptable substitution!

What of the proposals that we can teach children definite procedures which they can use in solving problems? Meier, Cleary, and Davis discuss the experience of the Detroit Citizenship Education Study in attempting to improve pupils' problem-solving skill through the teaching of a sequence of steps to be followed in attacking a problem. The sequence used, with important subheadings omitted here to save space, may be helpful to teachers attempting to sharpen their pupils' awareness of the process of scientific thinking:

12. For an excellent treatment of problem-solving, see *Educating for American Citizenship*, *op. cit.*, chap. x.

A. Defining the problem

1. Encountering the problem
2. Selecting the problem
3. Wording the problem
4. Setting up tentative solutions

B. Working on the problem

1. Recalling known information
2. Determining need for more information
3. Locating sources of information
4. Selecting and organizing information
5. Analyzing and interpreting information

C. Drawing a conclusion

1. Stating possible conclusions
2. Determining the most reasonable and logical conclusions
3. Reaching a conclusion

D. Carrying out the conclusion

1. Acting on the conclusion
2. Reconsidering the conclusion¹³

The report given by these authors, however, impresses one with the fact that, while children need much help in knowing how to deal with problems reasonably and logically, the teaching of a formula of sequential problem-solving steps may not be very productive in meeting this need. That this is true should not be surprising. When we consider the example of the school-bus problem given above, we realize that it is probably too much to expect elementary-school children to handle problem situations which are fraught with strong emotion simply by having the support of knowledge about the process of scientific thinking. We should certainly strive to make children aware of this process, but we must place our chief reliance upon other emphases in the school program for reaching our goal.

First, we must try to organize our classrooms and schools so that a good deal of social living takes place. We must try to develop programs in which children have many opportunities for *doing*. It is only if children are living and working together in true social situations that they will have need for facing and solving problems.

13. Meier, Cleary, and Davis, *op. cit.*, pp. 338-43.

It is no derogation of the importance of the limit-establishing role of the teacher to admit that the "perfectly regulated" classroom (and this always means "regulated by the teacher") is one in which very little problem-solving education can take place.

Second, we must try to create in the community which is the classroom and the school a climate of trust in which children will feel free to raise the problems which truly trouble them. In one such school, the principal was talking with several classes of eight-year-olds about the whole question of "being fair." At the moment that he thought the issue clearly settled, a quiet little girl raised her hand and in deep seriousness asked, "Would you explain why it is fair for the school to have the rule about not chewing gum in the buildings? It doesn't somehow seem fair to me."

Third, we, the teachers, must do everything possible to develop in ourselves greater skill in problem-solving and in leading discussions. We must face the fact that young children in trying to solve many of their problems will depend upon the wise guidance of the teacher.

Fourth, we must become emotionally committed to the belief that giving young children experiences in solving problems is an essential part of our educational program. If we do, then we shall allow a reasonable portion of our program time for this type of experience.

THE ROLE OF INFORMATION

Thus far we have been considering the development of some of the skills, understandings, and attitudes required in the practice of good citizenship. Let us turn now to the question of the knowledge which the school should attempt to have children acquire in their education for citizenship. We may be helped by thinking back to the example given earlier in this chapter of the men's service-club member who exhibited what we termed social intelligence. In order to make the proposal that the club obtain the advice of experts before deciding upon a program to enrich the community life of the town's teen-age girls, he needed not only an understanding of good problem-solving procedures and an ability to relate positively to his group in a discussion but he also needed to know a good many facts about the functioning of his society. He apparently knew

that the superintendent of schools might be expected to be concerned with general youth problems as well as with the schools. He apparently knew that there were other agencies with social workers who were in touch with the problems of the community. In fact, the list of inferences about his knowledge could be a long one. Or let us think of a very simple hypothetical example. A piece of metal stripping has started to come loose on the stairs. We would like a boy in the home to be *aware* of the potential danger to the members of the household and to feel personally responsible for seeing that something is done to repair the strip. But if his decision is to fix it himself, we hope that he knows how to use a screwdriver and hammer, how to measure accurately, where to purchase any new material needed, etc. If not, his "social action" will not be very intelligent.

The point need not be labored further. It is obvious that if we in the elementary school are to help develop effective citizens, we are responsible for guiding children in the acquisition of an expanding amount of the factual knowledge which the individual needs in order to be an intelligent citizen. But what knowledge *is* needed for effective citizenship?

The first answer is that, other factors being equal, the more a person knows the more capable he is of intelligent civic action. At first glance, such an answer seems to take us nowhere, and yet it really is suggestive of a truth which we must keep in mind. The problems about which conscientious citizens today are forced to make decisions involve nearly all areas of human knowledge. The future will only accentuate this fact. We are not referring here to any indirect connection between knowledge and problems facing the citizen, such as that between a man's knowledge of the philosophy of Lao Tze, let us say, and his capacity for taking a long historical view of a modern social problem. The connections are extremely direct. When we think of the issues upon which a citizen must form an opinion in deciding his vote in a national election, we see that he needs to be reasonably informed about international trade; the history of federal aid to the states in such matters as education; the economics of tidelands ownership; intricate international relations in Europe, Africa, the Near East, Asia, Latin America; the working of various farm-support programs; the need for low-cost

housing, and so on to an almost alarming extent. We must conclude, therefore—not only because of steadily changing conditions but because of the complexity of the problems requiring intelligent solution—that it is no longer possible for us in education to point to a relatively small number of topics or areas of knowledge and say, “This is what every educated person must know to be a good citizen.” Our goal must be to give to pupils, at all levels, as much knowledge in all areas as possible but, above all else, to create the urge to go on learning and the attitude that decision-making should be preceded, if at all possible, by a reasonable search for the pertinent facts.

The second answer is a repetition of the plea for choosing what children study on the basis of what is *meaningful* to them. Not only is such selection important in terms of the personal-involvement principle previously mentioned but it is the only method which insures the optimum rate of learning and retaining information and which will build in the young child an emotional commitment to the belief that the search for truth has practical meaning in terms of carrying out purposes which are important to him.

What, then, of the practice in many forward-looking schools of building a course of study in the social studies in which scope and sequence are based upon the *logical* principle of moving from the known to the unknown, from the simple to the complex, from the here-and-now to the distant in time and space? As a guideline, such program construction makes sense—but only when it is used as a guideline. There are other factors—and decisive ones—determining the value of a program of studies other than the “logic” of its organization. The psychological factor of meaningfulness is one of these. It is important, therefore, in choosing what children shall learn, that we concern ourselves most of all with psychological organization even though this leads to a sequence of studies which seems fragmented. The second grade in one school moved in its studies from a unit on farms to a unit on rocks and ways to recognize various kinds of rock, and then to a unit on dinosaurs and early man—and this sequence was logical in terms of the children’s learning, no matter how illogical it might appear on a scope and sequence chart. In another classroom, a fourth grade, all the children during one part of the year were studying the functions of the human body

—except five boys, who were carrying out an ambitious project about the early explorers in the western hemisphere. This type of organization presents practical problems which some teachers (those with large classes, for example) may not be able to overcome—but it should not be rejected on the grounds that it is not logical.

Another argument against the psychological-organization approach is the claim that, without a logical scope and sequence, some important areas are skipped and others repeated unnecessarily. To this there seem to be three answers: (a) No matter what scheme of organization is used, many very important areas of knowledge must remain untouched. (b) Unless the areas studied have meaning for children, then for all important purposes all the areas are being “skipped.” (c) If children are studying what has meaning for them, and if they are involved in the planning, unnecessary repetition is impossible.

CRITERIA FOR THE SELECTION OF CONTENT

Even though it is not the purpose of this chapter to propose specifics for the program of studies, there are general yardsticks other than those already suggested which can be used by the teacher in selecting topics or areas of study important in citizenship education.

Heffernan (in chap. v) states that teachers can be helped if they will choose on the basis of those learnings which support a faith in the democratic process, with special concern for the human relationships involved in whatever is studied. To this yardstick, we should perhaps add several others. Whenever possible we should foster learning experiences (or “studies,” if the reader prefers) which help children see the functional relationships which compose their environment. The entire process of preparing a modern loaf of bread is only an extension of the process of man’s plucking grains from a field and chewing them for sustenance. Secondly, the increasingly important impact of the truth that we today must think within a one-world context supports the trend of including study of some other cultures in the elementary school. In addition, we need to think more critically of the problem of teaching meaningful geography. It would seem likely that to gain meaningfulness, we shall have to place a new emphasis upon the “why” in geography,

for we still tend to stress the "where" with a minor accent on the "how." Thirdly, since so many of the civic problems facing the mature citizen are economic as much as political and social, there is need for thoughtful teachers to explore new ways of helping children even at the elementary levels to gain more understanding of the economic base of our life. This statement should not be interpreted as a lack of appreciation for the ways in which good modern elementary-school programs help children gain appreciations and understandings of the food-shelter-clothing underpinning of much of man's activity. But, since we frequently underestimate the capacity for thinking of younger children, we need to experiment with ways of helping them understand some of the current applications in a complex culture of some of these basic activities and relationships. Finally, it seems wise for more teachers to explore the possibilities of including in the elementary school some study of what Penrose terms the "legal rights and duties of citizens." That very little beyond the level of the Peter Zenger case is attempted in the elementary school is in part a result of teachers' laudable efforts to avoid the meaningless. Partly, however, it may be the result of a rather deep ignorance on the part of teachers of many aspects of the legal rights and duties other than those which were used in their own two or three courses in American and western-civilization history.

For some of these elements to be of value in the elementary curriculum, new materials as resources for teachers and children will have to be prepared. Perhaps the *Living Democracy Series* pamphlets now being made available to secondary schools by the Tufts Civic Education Project will be suggestive of materials for younger children. Of more basic importance, of course, is the need for us, the teachers, to become much better informed about all aspects of the environment which we, as citizens, must help regulate.

In Conclusion: The Long View

In conclusion, let us consider further the statement ". . . *other factors being equal*, the more a person knows, the more capable he is of intelligent civic action." The italicized words are meant as a reminder that all the knowledge in the world will not make a good citizen of a person who does not have attitudes which give him an

active concern for the general welfare. Perhaps it will be helpful to list here these attitudes, which have already been treated generally or inferentially presented:

1. A sensitivity to social need
2. A sense of personal responsibility for doing whatever possible to solve social problems
3. Courage to act upon principle
4. The belief that in a democracy one person's actions, no matter how seemingly insignificant, are truly important
5. The belief that reasonable solutions to problems are possible if enough people desire these solutions and think critically from facts rather than from prejudice or untested opinions of others

Underlying these attitudes are the basic emotions which make it possible for the child to have faith in himself, to have trust in others, and to relate to others sympathetically. Therefore, we must return to the concept that if the school is to have a successful program of citizenship education it must concern itself with the general emotional health of children at the same time that it plans the curriculum specifically to develop in children the skills, understandings, attitudes, and knowledge necessary for effective citizenship.

Actually, the requirements which we have set up here for a good curriculum in citizenship education are also the requirements for a program to promote emotional health. To this program the school will need to add special services for children whose lives outside school have been affected by destructive forces too powerful to be counteracted by the healthful general program of the school. Also, the school must more and more reach out to the homes from which the children come, so that education for emotional well-being and for effective citizenship can be more of a co-operative project than it is today. The difficulty of doing this is matched only by its importance. Smaller classes, teachers trained in working with parents and in understanding the general community forces operating upon children, school schedules which allow time for work with parents, school plants which are planned as educational centers for the entire community—these are some of the conditions which must become more prevalent than they are today.

Yet, even now, many schools and teachers are making efforts to bring about this co-operative action. In some schools teachers are able to hold personal conferences with parents instead of simply

sending home report cards; at these conferences the teacher can increase parent understanding of the goals for which the school is striving and parent appreciation of the worthwhileness of the child, while at the same time the teacher gains a better understanding of some of the important forces in the child's life. Programs at P.T.A. meetings may deal with purposes and processes to good effect. Parents are sometimes invited to witness the culminating activities at the completion of a social-studies unit. Many schools are working co-operatively with the citizens groups which have arisen to express an interest in better schools. Some school systems have released teachers to help the home and school associations carry out study programs. Some principals work closely with parent groups to help them plan educational meetings as well as activities which give parents experience in citizenship.

To those educators with special concern for citizenship education, there is still another challenge which is not likely to be met in the near future, and yet which must eventually be faced. If the emotional structure of children acts as a controlling force in their entire education, and if, as seems true, this structure undergoes its most important development in the earliest years of life, we must realize that we must give much more serious thought not only to the kindergarten-primary programs now in our schools but to the need for desirable, public-supported educational programs for the prekindergarten and nursery-school years. These early childhood programs will not necessarily be solely downward extensions in the existing school organization. In recent years diverse patterns for such programs have been evolving in day-care centers, private nursery schools, units connected with high schools, experimental schools for the youngest years run by teachers' colleges. The time has come when more educators not directly involved in these programs must begin to evaluate their existing and potential worth in the total educational scheme.

Of course, the best way of insuring emotionally healthy infancy and childhood periods for more children is to increase the number of good parents. Again, educators need to take a long view and to realize the importance of relationships. Not only do the kinds of elementary-school programs described in this chapter help to build effective citizens; they also help develop men and women who will

be better parents. We all know that there are many factors involved in the evolution of the attitudes and skills of parenthood, and yet the individual who has had years of school experience in which he has felt himself a valued, contributing member of his society has experienced one of the necessary influences for being the kind of person who can, eventually, give his children the positive attitudes which support good citizenship.

Ours must surely be the long view. There are important things we can do today, but the development of men and women who are eager and able to be creative, democratic citizens is a responsibility and privilege requiring that we have faith that where there is the purpose and the search for truth a reasonable solution to the problem can be achieved.

CHAPTER X

Education for International Understanding

HOWARD E. WILSON

and

MILLER R. COLLINGS

Education for international understanding cannot be separated from the general program of education which contributes to the making of good citizens and good persons. The basic qualities of good citizenship operate alike in the national and international spheres. International understanding is not a separate segment of personality growth and cannot be achieved in a single segment of a school program. Education for international understanding cannot be isolated from the general flow of education. Particularly is this true of the foundation for education in international understanding for which the elementary-school level is properly responsible.

The very term "international understanding" is difficult to define with precision. It refers to a compound of emotional attitudes and intellectual insights; for some it seems to be identical with friendliness, and for others with coldly objective intellectual analysis. What is here meant by international understanding lies somewhere between these extremes of emotion and intellectuality. International understanding involves sensitivity to human relations, adherence to ethical goals, perception of national characteristics, knowledge of cultural contacts and interstate relations, a realization of the difference between the ideal and the actual, a sense of continuity in time and of contiguity in space, a deep loyalty to one's own nation and the expectation of comparable loyalties in the citizens of other nations. These are qualities characteristic of maturity; they are based on "well-rounded development" and psychological security for the individual. They are qualities applicable to understanding of one's

own community and nation as well as of international affairs. They are qualities of character produced by the total educative experience of the individual and not under any circumstances by any one part of the program of formal education which could be labeled education for international understanding.

At the same time that education for international understanding is rooted in good general education, it does not automatically result from general education. An individual may acquire the qualities of character and insight which make him a good citizen of his locality without being adequately sensitive to the wider society. In an age such as ours, it is essential that formal education aid the growing individual in applying his concepts of wise behavior to the international scene and in acquiring the means by which his comprehension of international relations may be increased and deepened throughout life. The elementary-school program can no more ignore international relations as an important interest for the whole curriculum and as a substantive area from which curriculum materials should be drawn than it can ignore the locality or the family or other major social influences. The generations now to be educated in American schools cannot escape acting in the international field. Whatever qualities of sensitivity, insight, and skill may be acquired by pupils will be called into use by the continuing problems of international affairs. From that, there is no escape in a country situated as is the United States.

The first point to be emphasized, then, is that the foundation of education for international understanding is laid by the elementary school in its total program for developing intellectual and emotional maturity in pupils and that the school should suggest to pupils the relation and application of these qualities to the international scene. The ways and means by which these relations and applications are suggested constitute the first essential program in education for international understanding at the elementary-school level.

It must be emphasized that there should not be anything maudlin or sentimental or unrealistic about education for international relations. Many of the traditional elementary-school approaches to international understanding have been of this unfortunate character. To teach young Americans a sort of touristic approach to foreign lands through the wooden shoes of Holland, the colorful peons of

Mexico, and the cherry blossoms of Japan probably creates more misunderstanding than it does understanding of the world we live in. To teach a sort of blanket friendliness, and an assumption that everybody likes us, approaches naiveté. To imply that the world can and should be made over in our own image is not much of a contribution to realistic understanding or to intelligent attitude toward foreign policy. Many of the children's books in the international field are based upon concepts now outmoded and on a touristic or sentimental motif that is thoroughly unrealistic. Many elementary-school courses of study which deal with other lands are inherited from an earlier and more sentimental day. Development of international understanding must be conceived in terms of the field of scholarship in international relations, not in terms of wishful thinking or naiveté. The elementary-school program should be a step toward mature understanding and not a roadblock to be overcome by the adult individual.

Sense of Space

With these background factors in mind, certain suggestions can be made as to qualities and emphasis which ought to characterize the elementary-school program if it is to make full contribution to the development of sound international understanding. The first of these relates to instruction in geography. The internationally-alert individual needs a general sense of space and location as affecting human actions; he needs as his permanent possession a vivid concept of the globe and its major characteristics. From the point of view of those interested in education and international relations, it is important to begin the study of geography with the globe and to see all its parts in terms of the whole and to enter upon this study as early as possible in terms of the ages and previous experiences of the learners. Much of the material and the approach embodied in "air-age geography" seems important to the development of an overall as contrasted with a localistic approach to the planet. While the major part of the geographical content of the elementary-school program may well deal with interactions between man and environment in specific regions, a clear picture of the planet itself, as the scene for the drama of human life, is the first requisite for education

in international understanding. Development of this basic concept is a clear responsibility of the elementary school.

A sense of space and location—a disposition to think of human behavior in terms of these factors—should be acquired in the elementary school. This sense is in part a product of lessons in geography but even more a product of the total classroom environment. The globe as well as large, permanent maps of the world and of the nation should be a part of the decor (as well as of the equipment) in every elementary-school classroom. And, in all discussions and conversations in the classroom which in any way involve geographic factors there should be repeated and consistent reference to the maps. Pupils should be habituated to the use of maps and, through that habituation, to the continual consideration of geographic elements and factors in the story of human affairs.

There are, of course, many approaches to the organization of the geographical content of the curriculum for the elementary grades. Questions of organization and specific content of the course of study are in many ways quite secondary to the importance of creating an environment and classroom life which are continually concerned with the influence of geographic factors. To develop in pupils the habit of using geographic tools and thinking in geographic terms, as much in the study of history and literature and science and current events as in the geography lesson itself, is an essential step in developing international understanding in citizens. To this end the elementary-school classroom should take a lead from the map-rooms and briefing-rooms developed in connection with military education. To use large maps covering an entire wall of the classroom, protected with shellac covering so that pupils may mark over them with chalk, and to make the maps regular "conversation pieces" is a mark of good teaching. To have a globe continually and conveniently available to the class, to arrange regular map exhibits, to develop games and activities using the maps—all are important. The purpose is not to emphasize pupils' memorization of places but to accustom them to sources of geographical information and to develop a life-long habit of considering geographic factors in human affairs. What is done with matters of location can become a basis for later learning in relation to other geographic characteristics.

The program of instruction in geography is obviously of great importance. Its general characteristics of emphasizing human geography and of organizing study in terms of regions are appropriate to development of international understanding. To a considerable extent, however, there is at present an unfortunate tendency to crowd too much into the curriculum. Under the assumption that few students would encounter geographic instruction after Grade VII or VIII, the elementary program has tended to try to "cover the waterfront." With a gradual increase in the study of geography at the secondary-school and college levels (as well as the tendency for more students to move higher on the educational ladder), and with vastly increased reference to geographic data in the media of mass communications at the adult level, it may be possible to rethink the elementary-school curriculum more adequately in terms of a foundation or introduction to a field with which there will be contact throughout life. Such a revised program would (a) approach geography first in global and secondarily in regional or national terms, (b) emphasize skill in the reading and interpretation of all forms of maps, (c) deal with a few representative regional studies of geographic influences on human behavior rather than with the entire sequence of regions now ordinarily covered in the elementary-school program, (d) emphasize channels of travel and trade rather than geographic formations as the barriers they once were, and (e) stress the development of interest in geography realistically rather than esoterically.

Various patterns and programs, so far as the curriculum is concerned, may seek these ends. But, as has been emphasized, the formal curriculum alone is not so likely to be successful as is a total school approach in which space and location, climate and topography are continually related to all the aspects of human society which pupils study.

Sense of Time

One sign of maturity in respect to international understanding is a deep sense of the historical process, of the endlessly unrolling tapestry of human affairs, of the steady movement and continual adjustments in human circumstance. A certain impatience with the ordinary slowness of change and, at the same time, a resistance to

change are dual aspects of human nature well cultivated by our culture and tradition. Recognition of the nature and inevitability of social evolution is a mark of the sophisticated person in international realities.

This sensitivity to the flow of history can, within limits, be developed in the elementary-school program. As in the case of a sense of space, a sense of time may be best cultivated in the total environment of the school rather than alone in formal historical instruction. In a classroom environment fully conducive to developing a sense of time, visual time-lines will be as much in evidence as are maps. If there are time-lines or time-charts on the classroom walls or bulletin boards, and if there is continual location on them of the time setting or events mentioned in class discussions, the pupils may become habituated to thinking in time terms. The time-line and the map and globe must be omnipresent in a classroom which is intelligently concerned with education toward international understanding.

Obviously the cultivation of a historical sense rests upon more than the habit of placing events on a time-line, helpful as that is. Class instruction in history as a humane study is important. It seems probable, however, that the formal curricula on which rests most historical instruction in elementary schools deals with historical change and development in such sweeping strokes as to be beyond the realistic comprehension of very many pupils. The Greeks and Goths and Colonial Americans all become about equally remote. A general chronology of the history of civilization may not actually contribute much to the pupil's sense of intimate continuity and continual adjustment as a part of the historical process.

Smaller threads of historical movement scanned over shorter periods of historical time might well develop in pupils a more insightful historicity. This does not require abandonment of the chronology of history but emphasizes, within the broader framework, the necessity of vignettes of the historical process selected in terms of the maturity and interests of pupils themselves. Pupils may perhaps more readily acquire a sense of "change within continuity," for example, from study of the transformation of a horseless carriage into an automobile than from consideration of the sequence of presidential administrations. Study of the sequence of major groups

contributing to the rise of Western civilization may not mean as much for children in understanding social evolution as the story of a New England hillside, cleared for farming in one century and gradually abandoned to the encroaching forests within the space of two or three generations. Too frequently, in elementary schools, the intimacy of historical movement is lost. Some sense of that intimacy is, for the mature individual, a foundation stone of international understanding.

In a sense, the history program of the elementary school could well be formulated as a series of case studies set within a broad chronological framework. Illustrative selections from Roman history, for example, may give pupils a better sense of the social process than a summarized view of the Roman era. The selected case studies, however, should not—or at least should not all—be cross-sectional analyses of life at a given moment; they should illustrate movement, should reveal a process by which change and adaptation occur. They should clarify for pupils how one incident merges into another. They should contribute to the pupils' intelligent expectation of change in his own world and in international affairs. They should embody both history and geography, for one cannot fully be taught without the other.

It is important, in studying both literature and history that the social process be humanized, that it be made real and not remote, concrete and not abstract. Elementary-school pupils need continually to be reminded that "history is people." To this end, emphasis on biography is important, not for the sake of a "great-man theory" but for the sake of seeing personal participation in the historical process. The story of a lifetime can be told in terms which make the continual movement of social forces and the inexorable adjustment of events clearer for young children.

The selected materials of the elementary-school history program should, of course, illustrate for children the historical process as applied to the relations of nations. To suggest a case-study approach, to emphasize the intimacy of history, to humanize the past for pupils is not to call for localism or parochialism in history instruction. A good many of the case studies appropriate for elementary-school instruction deal with international situations. How a boundary line between two nations was determined, how an international

postal service was evolved, how a bit of land in New York City was made international territory, how the Spartans and Athenians struggled, how Switzerland became a nation, how a particular treaty of peace was written are all topics for study by which elementary-school pupils could gain insight into the workings of continuity and change in international affairs: The emphasis is on *how* rather than on *what*. The scope is based upon a span of time and space sufficiently limited and concrete to be envisaged by elementary-school pupils.

Sense of Cultural Variation and Contact

One of the essential elements in international understanding is a recognition of cultural variation and sensitivity toward intercultural contacts. The mature individual will become thoroughly sophisticated as to culture patterns, variations in mores and in value systems, and the delicate processes of cultural exchange and interpenetration. Recent decades have brought specialized insight into these areas through anthropology, sociology, and social psychology. Certain of their findings are appropriate material for elementary-school use. They are an important part of a good teacher's background. They throw light on the human relations of the school itself; they may contribute to and enrich the curriculum in the social studies; and they are an important element in the educational foundation of international understanding.

The customary curriculum in the elementary school contributes substantially to pupils' understanding of the fact of cultural variation. A sequence of units on ways of living of other peoples is very frequently taught, and pupils' experiences are organized around these units in such fashion as to emphasize variations in matters like clothing, home, food, and recreation. This emphasis is found in much of the geography taught in the elementary school and to a certain degree in the history and literature programs. Too frequently, however, the materials and the pupil activities in all these courses are concerned only with material phenomena and artifacts; the courses fail to push further into the varying mores of human behavior and thought in cultures which vary widely under geographic and historical influences.

Direct experience with resource people who have themselves

experienced the influence of other cultures will help children become aware of the existence of widely divergent values. The importance in some cultures of not "losing face" is of relatively little concern to us, whereas the value with which we regard every human life is incomprehensible to people in large areas of the world where, for generations, economic necessity has dictated that cultural survival rests upon high mortality. Pupils recognize that houses differ and meals differ and clothes differ, but they do not adequately recognize that people differ. Cultural variation remains for them a descriptive rather than a functional, operative concept. Too frequently the assumption continues in a child or an adult that other people are like himself in mores and senses of values and that only environments differ.

Instruction in history or geography or literature, or in any combination of materials organized as a social-studies program, should emphasize variation in persons as well as in things within different cultural contexts. To the extent possible, pupils studying another culture should penetrate to its value system. The mental habits and assumptions of a culture where exchange of goods is based on barter rather than on a fixed price, for example, are more important to international understanding than are the facts of the exchange; to study the bazaar only as a tourist might see it, without reference to the mental habits on which it is based, is to omit the essence of cultural variation as an element in international understanding.

Even when cultural variation is perceived in behavioral and value terms, it is only the beginning. Cultural contact is the crucial point for international understanding. Our knowledge of the processes of cultural contact is only in its infancy; the factors which lead to conflict and the factors which lead toward co-operation are only dimly perceived. Yet, it is possible even with very small children to indicate the problems and difficulties of cultural contact. Certainly, the ordinary assumption that contact is a simple and easy matter should be destroyed.

The crises which arise in their own classroom or on the playground, caused by aggressiveness, stubbornness, or simple misunderstanding, can be used by the teacher to illustrate the complexity of group interaction. Disputes arising over ownership of personal belongings, pushing while standing in line—and pushing back—name

calling, and similar disruptions to peaceful coexistence should be examined by the teacher and the class, with the hope that knowledge gained thereby will decrease repetition. As is true at the international level, this expectation is not always realized.

One common difficulty in the school curriculum is a tendency to deal with too many cultures, whether in history or in geography courses. It would be better to deal with fewer peoples and to deal with the selected groups more penetratingly. And it would be wise to indicate the contacts of the selected group with cultures different from themselves. There should be illustrations both of conflict and co-operation. A groundwork of this sort laid in the elementary school would seem to be a good basis for further growth at more mature levels.

A good deal of the material on cultural variation and contact can be presented in connection with the reading program in so far as it stresses the relationship of "literature and life." The observance of various national holidays can be made occasions for understanding cultural traits. The use of films on life in other lands can be an excellent introduction to the topic, as are also the discussions on current events in the intermediate grades. Games and recreation, singing and recordings, school plays and television viewings may all contribute to the pupils' consciousness of cultural contrasts.

Farsighted Loyalty to One's Own Nation

The international system is built upon the concepts and practices of national systems; an intelligent, farsighted loyalty toward one's own country is another of the essential elements in international understanding. The elementary school has responsibility for introducing the pupil to the history of his own country, to the geography of the nation, and to the literature which records its character and ideals. The school has responsibility for cultivating the pupil's sense of identity with the nation and his acceptance of its symbols. It should help him to realize that citizens of other countries probably have the same loyalty to their own nations.

There is no necessary conflict between developing a strong sense of national identification and developing international understanding. Indeed, the fullest possible insight into his own nation is the beginning of wisdom in world affairs for the citizen. It is important,

however, that patriotism be farsighted, that it see the nation in its inescapable world setting and recognize realistically the responsibilities, problems, and advantages inherent in that setting. A major element in international understanding is an honest conceptualization of the role of one's own country in the farflung network of international affairs.

Instruction in United States history, therefore, is essential to an American school program concerned with the development of international understanding. But that instruction should not be isolationist in spirit. Major movements in American history are deeply related to currents of world history and should be so presented to pupils. The industrialization of the United States should be presented as a phase of a larger industrial revolution; the abolition of slavery is not an exclusively American phenomenon; even such developments as the harnessing of atomic energy are based upon researches from many countries. It is the part of wisdom that the pupil see his country's story in its relationship to the story of other nations.

Conflicts with other nations should not be minimized, since conflicts of interest are a part of life, both international and local. But the conflicts should be presented in terms of the interests of each side. The accounts of the Revolutionary War now to be found in the textbooks of both the United States and Great Britain illustrate a constructive approach to the study of a conflict of interest. For the most part, accounts of the War between the States, now presented in textbooks used throughout the nation, are balanced, reporting fairly the conflicts of interest on which the War was based. The ways and means by which a nation acts to protect its interests abroad—diplomacy, conference, treaty, intergovernmental co-operation, war—are part of the national story. They could well be spotlighted in an instructional program dealing realistically with international understanding.

The important thing is that the pupil see his country as a part of the globe, see infinite interrelationships between his country and others, see the inevitability of international contact, conflict, and co-operation in modern society. It is shortsighted and dangerous to present the history of his country to a pupil in isolationist terms which have been outmoded by events.

Problem-solving

What has been said about historical change and cultural contacts indicates the nature and continuance of problems and issues in human relations, including international relations. Too frequently social-studies programs, however organized, tend to give elementary-school pupils the impression that all the problems have been solved or that they will solve themselves. Actually every effort should be made to alert and sensitize pupils to the certainty of problems and to the necessity of facing them, the hope of solving them, the necessity often of "living with them."

Elementary-school pupils can hardly be expected to solve problems of society which perplex their parents. It is argued, however, that pupils be made aware of the existence of problems and of the extraordinary complexities inherent in problems at the international level. For example, the problem of overpopulation as it affects international relations can be seen in the culture patterns of some societies pupils are likely to study. The continuing problems centered around the use of essential natural resources can be grasped in fairly objective terms by pupils. The complexities of Asian-American relations as revealed either in current events or in the studies of cultural contacts can be perceived by pupils, even though they cannot solve the problems embodied in these contacts.

While the pupil cannot be expected to solve society's problems, he must gain experience in school in the solution of problems which are within his grasp. He ought to be made conscious of the process by which he reaches a conclusion; much more about reflective thinking and the problem-solving method could be taught at the elementary-school level than is now commonly taught. To relate this analysis of the individual's thinking procedures with the social scene as dealt with in the social-studies program is a contribution to the pupil's behavior and to his acquisition of international understanding.

Teacher Understanding of International Relations

It has been suggested thus far that a sense of space and location, a sense of time and change, a sense of the legitimacy of cultural variations and the complexities of cultural contacts, intelligent loyalty

to one's own country, and a tendency toward reflective thinking lie at the base of an individual's international understanding. These concepts and outlooks may be developed at least to a degree in the curricular program and in the activities and experiences of the school. But there are no mechanical formulas or program patterns guaranteed to ensure such developments. The essential factor is the degree to which the teacher is himself possessed of international understanding. It is the teacher's presentation and interpretation of materials and in his focusing of pupil experience and explanation of that experience that the determination of quality in education for international understanding inevitably lies.

One of the first needs is in-service education of teachers in respect to international relations and to the basic concepts of anthropology and cultural contacts. The formal discipline of international relations is of relatively recent development; only a small percentage of elementary-school teachers have had a systematic introduction to a study of the field. The ordinary assumptions and outlooks of teachers about the nature of international relations may not synchronize at all with the assumptions and outlooks of specialists in the field; the gap between teachers' knowledge and specialists' knowledge cannot be adequately bridged by attention to current events as reported through media of mass communication. It is of particular importance that teachers gain a systematic introduction to the study of international relations and an acquaintance with the basic assumptions and methods embodied in the present-day discipline of international relations. The newness of this discipline as well as the importance and the interest in the subject give this area unusual priority for the reading which teachers do, for the in-service courses they take, and for the programs and forums they attend. Only on the foundation of an understanding on their part of the nature of other cultures and of international relations can a program of elementary-school education in this field become vital.

International Organization

Thus far in this discussion attention has been focused on the development in elementary-school pupils of certain attitudes and concepts which are essential elements in international understanding. Relatively little has been said about direct instruction or experience in the specific subject field commonly referred to as international

relations. A necessary background for that field may be built up through basic historical and geographic concepts, through an insight into the state system, and into the process of social change. A beginning in these background concepts should be made in the elementary school. In addition, the elementary program should provide pupils with direct instruction in various phases of international relations themselves.

A pupil growing into the modern world needs to have some orientation in respect to international organization; he needs to conceive of international organizations as agencies through which national states carry on their business at the international level. He should recognize that such organizations are not antagonistic to but are agencies of the state system in which farsighted loyalties are rooted.

A number of international organizations lend themselves, in concreteness and dramatic appeal, to the elementary-school curriculum. The North Atlantic ice patrol, the International Postal Union, the Organization of American States, the United Nations and its specialized agencies all illustrate intergovernmental organizations which can be made real to pupils. Other international organizations not necessarily governmental in character are equally appropriate—the International Red Cross, the International Olympics Committee, the International Boy Scouts, and international organizations of a religious or scholarly or business character. Each of these may illustrate the process by which international relations are carried on. Materials about these nongovernmental organizations and pupil activities related to their functions and programs are by no means adequately used in the elementary-school social-studies curriculum.

One of the problems in using them is that of devising pupil activities which have reality and challenge to the pupils. Study of other cultures can be made relatively real by activities in which pupils take the part of members of the other culture; this is in part what gives units on the Japanese or the Indians or the Netherlands their appeal. Properly done, the experience of playing a role is one way by which individuals may learn the viewpoints and mores of outsiders. The equivalent of this role-playing is hard to develop at the elementary-school level in interpreting for pupils the functioning of international organizations. There is a psychological identification in engaging in a relief program such as may be developed by the Red Cross or by UNESCO or, at the college level, by World Uni-

versity Service. Such education-by-participation in a program with international ramifications should be cultivated wherever possible. Model international meetings may be developed at the elementary-school level to deal with problems within the comprehension of pupils.

Specific mention should be made of some of the possibilities and the limitations in elementary education about the United Nations system. The United Nations, as the major international organization of our era, deserves study in the schools. The United Nations is not exclusively an organization to handle political issues; its organs and specialized agencies and committees deal with the widest variety of materials, controversial and otherwise. Its far-flung programs impinge in divers ways on the lives of all persons. There are materials in the story of the United Nations which are appropriate for classes in social studies, in science, in arithmetic, in literature and music, in health, and in all other aspects of the curriculum. It is to be emphasized that the United Nations can be understood by individuals only as its operations are consciously encountered in all these aspects of the school program.

This is but another way of saying that the best introduction to international organization is through function rather than structure. Understanding of the United Nations comes for the general citizen, young or old, not through a diagram showing structure and administration but through perception of actual operations. Understanding comes by encountering aspects of the work of the World Health Organization, or of UNESCO, or of the Economic and Social Council, or of the International Labor Organization, or of the Commission on Human Rights, or of the General Assembly in their functional setting. The stories of Ralph Bunche or of Dag Hammarskjöld in the Near East may do more to make the United Nations real than any number of formal charts and diagrams and structural analyses. Too little of the literature for children on the United Nations adequately emphasizes this functional approach. A major service to international understanding could be rendered by the production of vignettes of action, case incidents and anecdotes, illustrative of the way the United Nations system works.

The resourceful teacher will devise many methods for introducing into the classroom examples of United Nations activities

suitable for instructional purposes. Younger children, for example, using their creative abilities, can tell with drawings or brief stories, about the healthy people in a village where the water source has recently been purified, or where better seeds and farming methods have resulted in increased food production. Older children can organize as a mock United Nations committee to examine a current world problem, thereby gaining greater insights regarding the importance and complexity of the work of an international body.

Instruction should bring out the benefits which accrue to all through other activities typical of the United Nations such as increasing educational opportunity, exchanging scientific information, gaining greater appreciation of the creative artistry of others, increasing purchasing power, and developing belief in the dignity and value of every individual, irrespective of race, creed, or sex. It should emphasize that illiteracy and exploitation, inefficiency and poverty, malnutrition and disease, superstition and suspicion, bigotry and persecution are common problems with concomitant evils which must be faced by every country, our own included.

There are symbols connected with international organization with which pupils should become familiar, just as there are symbols embodying national ideals. The Red Cross Flag is one of these symbols, which can be studied by pupils and for which loyalty can be developed. Pupils should be familiarized with the blue and white flag of the United Nations. The headquarters building of the United Nations is itself a significant symbol, impressive in picture as well as for those who visit it. These symbols are valuable as embodying ideals toward which society may move.

It must be emphasized, however, that instruction about the United Nations and other international organizations, and instruction about countries other than our own, does not constitute the whole program of education for international understanding. That program is deep-rooted in the whole substance of elementary education. It lies also in the very process and method of living in the school.

The Group Process

The process of living in the elementary school contributes to the ideas and attitudes about human relations with which the pupil

approaches international issues. Even in their earliest school years, boys and girls in normal competition or co-operation with members of the school community who are unlike themselves in background, in color, in religion, in habits are acquiring attitudes which will condition their outlook on the world at large through life. The traditional operation of the school as a harmonizing agent for the cultures brought to American shores from all the world is itself a psychological experience in education for international behavior. The programs of intergroup education now being developed in many American schools, while focused on improving the relations among groups within the national population may also contribute to behavior in international matters. Intergroup relations at home have many similarities with intergroup relations on the international scale; education for one is also education for the other.

The healthiness of group life in an elementary school, particularly in a school which is cosmopolitan in character, influences the international understanding of pupils—and of men and women when those pupils have grown to adulthood. Children who are not pitted psychologically against their classmates to gain recognition and approval, children who are encouraged to work with rather than against others, children who are not dominated by an authoritarian personality, children who have a sense of secure-belonging in a constructive school environment are more likely to develop the quality characteristics needed among citizens if a democracy is to conduct its foreign relations well. This healthy group life is not free from conflict or competition, or even from occasional frustration, but it sees these phenomena as secondary aspects of the whole.

In a sense, it is the pupils who have experienced a democratic way of living in the school upon whom democracy may best rely for able behavior as adult citizens. Those who have experienced healthy group living, and have been made conscious of the process as they live it, have an invaluable asset with which to approach international understanding.

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CHAPTER XI

Evaluating the Social-Studies Program

KENNETH E. OBERHOLTZER

and

RICHARD MADDEN

A Case Study in Evaluation

The purpose of this chapter is to present a description and a critique of one city school system's approach to evaluating the social studies in its elementary schools. The experience of the public schools in Denver will be presented as a case study. This experience is not offered as a model, because we believe that no two school systems would require exactly the same patterns of evaluation. It is presented, rather, with the thought that a school system may be stimulated to reassess its own plan of evaluation, developed in view of local conditions and needs, by reviewing the plan of another school system.

Evaluation, as used in this chapter, relates to the process of ascertaining the degree to which the social-studies program fulfils its objectives. Considerable progress has been made in evaluating the social studies during the past half-century, but the measurement of educational growth of children in the social studies, as well as in other aspects of the social experience outside the school, leaves great areas in which evaluation must still lean very heavily upon judgments and reflective analysis. Standardized tests in the social studies have been improved considerably, although they have not shared fully the improvements in the development of tests for the measurement of achievement in other subjects of the curriculum.

The teacher is now supplied with much better evaluation instruments than were available even a few years ago. As these instru-

ments now stand, they are not only useful to teachers but they may be interpreted without too much difficulty or apology to parents, to pupils, and to the general public. There are reasonably good tests available, for example, for the measuring of knowledge in geography, history, and government and for the measuring of ability to analyze social issues. There are satisfactory tests of some of the skills needed to keep informed in the content of social studies, such as the ability to locate information, to read maps and charts, and to read graphs and tables. There are excellent tests available to measure ability to read and ability to think quantitatively. Results of each of these tests have a bearing on the aspects of pupil growth that contribute to the pupil's progress in the social studies.

Furthermore, there are also available to elementary-school teachers sociometric techniques, scales of attitudes, rating scales, forms for recording data, and the like. Although these instruments are not as well established as the traditional ones, they are good ones for use by the teacher.

This chapter might have concentrated upon a description and an analysis of the various tests of knowledge, skills, and techniques presently available. Discussion could have dealt largely with concepts of reliability, validity, and objectivity. It could have presented at length the need for better measures of the intangibles. All these aspects of evaluation we believe to be of importance. However, we defer such treatment of the subject to the many excellent books and pamphlets on measurement. What is generally lacking is material on the details of organizing and carrying out a comprehensive program of evaluation which recognizes that the subtleties of social studies require a variety of evaluative procedures in addition to measures of pupil achievement. Material of this kind will be presented in this chapter.

Denver, Its People, and Its Schools

Denver is one of the rapidly growing cities of the West. It will celebrate its centennial in 1958. In the twenty years after 1858, there was a very rapid growth of the city as the result of mining developments in the mountains and of agricultural developments in the river valleys near by. Following this, there were many years of rather slow, steady increase in the population; then World War

II and the following decade brought with them a very highly accelerated growth of population both within the city and within the general metropolitan area. The Denver boundaries include a city-county political unit and a school district, their boundaries being coterminous.

Like other large urban communities, Denver is based upon a complex economic structure. Mining and agriculture are still important; there are large military establishments near Denver and large Federal civilian installations located both within and without the city. Many visitors and tourists come to the city. However, Denver is largely a jobbing and distributing center for a very large but comparatively sparsely populated Western area of the United States. Here there is relatively little manufacturing and industrial development such as that seen in many of the large midwestern and eastern cities.

All races and cultural groups generally found in the United States are to be found in Denver, but the city has never faced the problem of assimilating large groups of people of widely divergent languages or culture. It was originally settled largely by persons born in the United States, because of its great distance from the borders. Small ethnic islands have appeared at times and have tended to become assimilated within a generation. Here, as elsewhere, a gain in economic status results in a change of residence, with replacement by an ethnic group of later arrival.

The Denver schools have been reasonably successful in bringing newcomers into the fold of American culture while preserving a pride in and remembrance of the ancestral culture. From the beginning, the citizens have taken an interest in the welfare of the schools. They have rather consistently provided funds for buildings and personnel to such a degree that the city ranks in the upper quarter of comparable cities in expenditures and program. The schools extend from kindergarten through Grade XII and are organized on the kindergarten-6-3-3 plan. Consequently, elementary schools referred to in this chapter include kindergarten through Grade VI.

The Elementary-School Social-Studies Program

The social-studies program in the Denver schools is based upon the fundamental premise that the public schools have a very special

function to perform in helping children and young people to grow into active and creative citizenship. Planned for a specific part of the school day, the social studies draw their life and inspiration from personal, social, civic, and economic interests and from the needs of boys and girls and the demands that society makes upon its citizens. For their content, the social studies draw from such subjects as history, geography, civics, sociology, cultural anthropology, psychology, and economics. In general, the social-studies program provides experiences in democratic living and in functional learning, which are designed to help boys and girls understand both their heritage as Americans and the world in which they live, to help them learn some of the basic techniques of problem-solving in the field of the social studies, and to help them participate in the rights and responsibilities of citizenship. More specifically, the social studies are organized in terms of four principal approaches to content: (a) the functions of living—in which approach the content develops moral and spiritual values and promotes living in accordance with them; (b) problems—wherein the content provides for the identification and analysis of human problems; (c) subjects—the content in this approach providing learning experiences in the subjects of history, civics, geography, and the like; (d) culture—where the content is enriched by a study of the ways in which people live and of their inventions, their discoveries, their institutions, and the like.

The social-studies program is developed, with some modifications, in accordance with the generally used concentric-circle type of organization which is based on the idea that a pupil's experiences should start with his more immediate environment and then proceed to more remote environments. In the intermediate grades, the dimension of time is introduced to help boys and girls understand people of other times.

Each grade level has at least one science unit which has important social implications. Because of close relationship to the social studies, natural and physical sciences are considered to be a part of the elementary-school social-studies program.

Generally, the content for the elementary schools is organized into units. The following chart shows the relationships of the several subjects to units in the several grades of the elementary-school social-studies program (see Chart 1).

CHART 1
SOCIAL-STUDIES PROGRAM OF THE DENVER PUBLIC SCHOOLS

	<i>Kindergarten</i>	<i>Grade One</i>	<i>Grade Two</i>	<i>Grade Three</i>	<i>Grade Four</i>	<i>Grade Five</i>	<i>Grade Six</i>
HISTORY	Introducing great ideas and men through special days and holidays	Story of our flag Meaning of song, "America" Significance of special days	Speaking acquaintance with great Americans through special days and holidays	Sense of historical time and development through anniversaries and commemorative days *Money	*WAYS OF LIVING THEN AND NOW *Transportation	*HOW OUR COUNTRY BEGAN (Narratives about heroes and adventures in discovery and exploration, colonization and westward movement)	*WORLD GEOGRAPHY AND PEOPLE OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE *Communication
	Observing weather seasons in Denver School activities related to seasons	*OTHER PLACES *Living in Our School *LIVING THINGS OUT-OF-DOORS	*OUR COMMUNITY *Communication in Everyday Living *The World Through Our Five Senses	*LIVING IN DENVER *Animals Near and Far *Learning About Plants	THE EARTH—HOW IT WAS FORMED, HOW IT CHANGES *Transportation *Ways of Living *Physical Forces That Work for Man	*UNITED STATES TODAY *How Our Country Began (Location of associated places) *Astronomy *Communication	*WORLD GEOGRAPHY AND PEOPLE OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE *Astronomy *Communication
GEOGRAPHY	Living and working together Health habits Physical examination	*LIVING IN OUR SCHOOL Toys Health and safety Junior Red Cross Council Student Council	*OUR COMMUNITY Junior Red Cross Council Student Council	*LIVING IN DENVER *Money Junior Red Cross Council Student Council	*WAYS OF LIVING THEN AND NOW Junior Red Cross Council Student Council	*UNITED STATES TODAY *HOW OUR COUNTRY BEGAN Junior Red Cross Council Student Council	*World Geography and People of the Western Hemisphere Junior Red Cross Council Student Council
CIVICS							

Chart 1 Continued

	Kindergarten§	Grade One	Grade Two	Grade Three	Grade Four	Grade Five	Grade Six
ECONOMICS	Taking care of one's own, and school property	*THE FAMILY *Living in Our School	*OUR COMMUNITY	*MONEY *Living in Denver *Animals Near and Far	*TRANSPORTATION *Ways of Living Then and Now *Physical Forces That Work for Man	*How Our Country Began *United States Today	*WORLD GEOGRAPHY *Communication
		*THE FAMILY *LIVING IN OUR SCHOOL	*THE WORLD THROUGH OUR FIVE SENSES *Our Community *Communication in Everyday Living	*LIVING IN DENVER *Money	*WAYS OF LIVING THEN AND NOW *Transportation	*How Our Country Began *United States Today	*COMMUNICATION *World Geography *PREPARING FOR JUNIOR HIGH Growing Up
NATURAL SCIENCE	Observing growing things around the school and changing weather and seasons	*LIVING THINGS OUT-OF-DOORS Pets	WATER *Our Community *The World Through Our Five Senses	*ANIMALS NEAR AND FAR *LEARNING ABOUT PLANTS	THE EARTH ANCIENT PLANTS AND ANIMALS	*How Chemical Changes Affect Our Everyday Living	GROWING UP *World Geography
		*Living things out-of-doors TOYS Pets	*COMMUNICATION IN EVERYDAY LIVING WATER	Effects of weather; adjustment by plants, animals, people	*PHYSICAL FORCES THAT WORK FOR MAN	*HOW CHEMICAL CHANGES AFFECT OUR EVERYDAY LIVING	*ASTRONOMY
PHYSICAL SCIENCE							

LEGEND

§—No specific units

*—Required units

ALL CAPITAL LETTERS—Units or courses related directly to specific subject fields
 Capital and small letters—Units or courses related indirectly to specific subject fields

An Over-all View of Evaluation in Denver

The general program of evaluation used in the Denver Public Schools is based upon two rather fundamental ideas:

First, that the schools are essentially a part of the community. This implies that evaluation of the social studies should be done by both the school staff and the lay citizens of the community.

Second, that provision for evaluation is an acceptance of what is called the auditing function. In other words, schools are accountable for their program of instruction and the results of that program. Almost every activity of life is subject to some kind of accounting. Bankers of unimpeachable integrity and of the highest responsibility accept without question the visits of certain examiners. Other occupations are appraised much less formally but effectively by customers or clientele.

With this in mind, there have been set up in the public schools two types of auditing—one, an internal audit, in which the teachers themselves evaluate the program; and the second, an external audit, in which others are involved in the evaluation. The internal audit, i.e., the evaluating done by teachers in the social-studies program, includes both the informal and standardized tests in common use today, together with less commonly used types of evaluating instruments. The external auditing or evaluating is done by other people, such as principals, parents, or professional consultants. This also involves the use of tests and other evaluating instruments, which are scored by other people and reported back to the teacher.

Both the internal and the external types of auditing or evaluating are going on continually, year after year, in the Denver Public Schools. However, every third year a special program goes into effect in the way of external auditing or evaluating. This program is composed of two major parts: one, a testing survey, in which standardized tests are used; and a second, an opinion survey, in which the opinions of citizens are surveyed by a professional organization.

We may look at the over-all program of evaluation in Denver in still another way, that is, in terms of four principal kinds of programs of evaluation: (a) through the use of generally accepted tests and the use of some controversial evaluating instruments, both

informal and standardized; (b) through the use of team judgments by professional people; (c) through the use of opinion surveys and the participation of citizens in curriculum development; (d) through community study of business and industry by teacher visitation.

The Use of Generally Accepted Tests in Evaluating Social Studies

The Denver Public Schools subscribe to the idea that many learnings in the social studies are potentially measurable and that those aspects that can now be measured should be measured. We believe that measurement has advanced to the point where it is highly useful in the social studies. We do not refrain from using tests merely because they may not be completely satisfactory.

In Denver there are two general testing programs in which standardized tests are used. One is described locally by three terms: "status-testing program," the "survey-testing program," or the "triennial-testing program." This type of testing was begun in 1950 and was repeated in 1953 and in 1956 (see Chart 2). The tests are administered to all pupils in Grades III, VI, IX, and XII. This program is developed primarily as a means of comparing the achievement of pupils in Denver with pupils across the nation. The city-wide results of this testing, showing strengths and weaknesses, are published in a brochure and are also transmitted to the public through meetings and the press. Each school is given a confidential report of its own data that will be useful in improving instruction. Every effort is made to avoid comparing schools, comparing teachers, or using data for rating of any sort.

Every year, too, other standardized tests and batteries are employed in our "minimum" or "instructional" testing program. The results are used to provide data for the improvement of instruction for individual pupils, classes, and schools (see Chart 3). In many cases, even at the third grade, pupils participate in the scoring and analyzing of tests. This helps them discover their strengths and plan their next steps in the learning process. These results are not compiled on a city-wide basis. Since all schools give all these particular tests, this program is called the "minimum" program, but any other tests may be added if desired by the principal and faculty.

CHART 2

DENVER PUBLIC SCHOOLS

THE TRIENNIAL CITY-WIDE SURVEY
1956*The Testing Program*

GRADE	TESTS FOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS	TIME SCHEDULE
III	Academic Aptitude (I.Q.) Otis or Davis-Eells	By March 2, 1956
III	Stanford Elementary Battery, Form K	April 16-20, 1956
VI	Academic Aptitude (I.Q.) Otis or Davis-Eells	By March 2, 1956
VI	Stanford Intermediate Battery, Form K	April 16-20, 1956
VI	Mental Health Analysis	April 16-20, 1956
GRADE	TESTS FOR JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL	
IX	Academic Aptitude (I.Q.) Otis-Gamma	By March 2, 1956
IX	Iowa Tests of Educational Development	April 16-20, 1956
IX	Mental Health Analysis	April 16-20, 1956
GRADE	TESTS FOR SENIOR HIGH SCHOOLS	
XII	Academic Aptitude (I.Q.) Henmon-Nelson	By November 18, 1955
XII	Iowa Tests of Educational Development	April 16-20, 1956
XII	Mental Health Analysis	April 16-20, 1956

The Opinion Survey

Research Services, Incorporated, a Denver research agency, conducted an opinion survey among the adult population of Denver during the same period the testing survey was presented in the schools. The primary purpose of the opinion survey was to measure the degree of satisfaction with the current program of the Denver Public Schools. At the same time it was expected that some of the data would afford direct comparisons with similar questions sampled in the previous surveys of 1950 and 1953.

The Use of Locally Made Tests

Still another type of internal auditing or evaluating in Denver is done by means of "quality-control projects." These projects include locally made tests that measure the same general objectives as standardized tests but that are much more diagnostic. Quality control means much the same in the Denver schools as it does in industry; in other words, if a product is to be consistently satisfactory in quality, there must be periodic inspection and evaluation of the product to assure such quality. The process of quality control in education is to select some of the major or critical aspects of instruction for testing at intervals to see if growth is coming up to expectation. The projects are usually of short duration, the

CHART 3

DENVER PUBLIC SCHOOLS

MINIMUM TESTING PROGRAM FOR SCHOOL YEAR 1955-56

GRADE	TESTS FOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS	TIME SCHEDULE
Kdg. or		In kindergarten or by the end of November in first grade
I	Academic Aptitude (I.Q.)	During January, 1956
II	Academic Aptitude (I.Q.)	During February, 1956
II	Reading Test (Calif. or Gates)	By October 14, 1955
III	Calif. Primary Battery, Form AA	By March 2, 1956
III	Otis, Alpha, AS or Davis-Eells, Elem.	April, 1956
III	City-wide Survey	By October 14, 1955
IV	Calif. Elementary Battery, Form AA	By November 4, 1955
IV	Academic Aptitude (I.Q.)	During Second Semester
V	Calif. Soc. & Rel. Sc., Pt. 1—AA (History)	By October 14, 1955
VI	Calif. Elementary Battery, Form AA	By March 2, 1956
*VI	Otis, Beta, or Davis-Eells, Elem.	April, 1956
VI	City-wide Survey	
GRADE	TESTS FOR JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLS	
VII	Calif. Intermediate Battery, Form AA	By October 14, 1955
VII	Calif. Soc. & Rel. Sc., Pt. I, T.2, BB, and Pt. II, T.3, BB	8th or 9th month of the grade
VIII	Calif. Intermediate Battery, Form CC	5th or 6th month of the grade
VIII	Calif. Soc. & Rel. Sc., Pt. I, T.1, BB and Pt. II, T.4, BB	8th or 9th month of the grade
VIII	Coop. Science for Grades 7-9, Form Y	8th or 9th month of Science Program
**IX-A	Otis, QSMA, Gamma (I.Q.)	By Oct. 7, 1955, or Mar. 2, 1956
IX	City-wide Survey	April, 1956
GRADE	TESTS FOR SENIOR HIGH SCHOOLS	
X	Calif. Advanced Battery, Form AA	During First Semester
X	Kuder Preference Record, Vocational, C	During 10th grade
X-A	Biology II (for North Central Assoc.)	During last 3 weeks of 2nd Sem.
XI	Crary American History, Form AM	During last 3 weeks, Am. Hist. III
XI-A	Physics II (for North Central Assoc.)	During last 3 weeks of 2nd Sem.
XII-A	Chemistry II (for North Central Assoc.)	During last 3 weeks of 2nd Sem.
**XII	Henmon-Nelson (Use for Expectancy for)	By November 18, 1955
XII	City-wide Survey	April, 1956

* All elementary pupils were given an I.Q. test within the year prior to being promoted to junior high school.

** These tests were scored and tabulated at Administration Building.

*** All June graduating Seniors were tested, and the scoring, tabulating, and typing of alphabetical lists of the names and I.Q.'s were done at the Administration Building.

achievement desired is very sharply defined, and the teaching procedures are carefully outlined. Usually the sequence is to test, teach, and test. The broad purpose and content of these projects are worked out at meetings of kindergarten-Grade XII instruction committees. Following this, subcommittees of from two to five teachers develop the projects in detail.

The tests are used to measure achievement, both before and after very specific teaching. Questions the teachers have been using are pooled, and others are originated. The resulting preliminary tests are given in several pilot schools. After item analysis and a resulting elimination or change of some items, the city-wide tests are prepared. The process is informal, and elaborate statistical procedures are not used, although there is much screening and analysis of items for curriculum validity and internal consistency in the tests. In effect, tests on subject-matter units that are thus made available tend to be better than those prepared by teachers individually.

Thus far, the results of the use of quality-control projects have been very stimulating to both teachers and pupils. Some teachers who were lukewarm toward the projects were converted when they discovered that instruction was simplified. A small number of specifics can be discovered and appropriate amounts of time devoted to them. Also, pupil participation in scoring tests and in item analysis is encouraged as soon as the pupil is mature enough to do it. This procedure helps the individual pupil discover his strengths and weaknesses. If a continued analysis of a particular aspect of instruction indicates the need of some curriculum changes, such changes are made, usually by a curriculum committee.

An example of quality control in the social studies may be found in a sixth-grade geography project. Some teaching of geography begins in Denver at the first grade as pupils learn their addresses, the street names in the school neighborhood, dangerous traffic locations, and the like. Each succeeding grade builds on this foundation.

The sixth-grade quality-control project is based upon the important place locations, their products, and the matter of processing products. The first test, given when the sixth-grade geography work begins, helps the teacher measure what has been learned pre-

viously. The plan of instruction can then be made more specific in terms of what the class needs and what the individual pupils need. The second test, given toward the end of the time assigned to geography, measures the growth the pupils have made.

Helps are also furnished to the teacher in the form of lists of places and terms for use in vocabulary-building and spelling.

Samples of these projects are given to junior high school teachers and are helpful to them in understanding the elementary program and its expected achievements.

An aspect of auditing is related to the use of test results. It is the use of intelligence-test scores and the development of an expectancy formula for achievement. The ability of children to learn or to perform school work is considered in all evaluations made from test data, whether the tests are of the internal or external auditing type. Particular emphasis, in interpreting data from both the survey testing and from the instruction testing, is given to proper expectancy.

In Grade VI, for example, the expectancy formula is $\frac{2MA + 1CA}{3} = XA$, that is, expectancy in achievement. Such expectancy, of course, relates primarily to interpretation of standardized tests, but also has its place in the more informal types of tests.

In Denver the expectancy formula is used in order to approach the ideal of individualizing instruction. If the same achievement is expected from all pupils at a given grade level, both teacher and pupils are frustrated. Perhaps a midpoint or average is sought to the neglect of the pupils of either high or low academic ability. In terms of testing, the teacher gains a feeling of security when each pupil in his class is assigned a potential score which he may make with reasonable effort. If he fails to meet this expectancy, further study of the pupil is motivated to find possible causes in his health, his home, his interests—all the factors that influence school success and failure.

At the present time there is no single standardized test in city-wide use in Denver at the elementary-school level that tests the social studies. Batteries of standardized tests in use include tests in geography, history, civics, and economics. Some of the other parts of the battery are related to the social studies; specifically, tests in paragraph meaning, vocabulary, arithmetic reasoning, quantitative

thinking, and study skills. Weakness in any one of these may be interpreted as affecting ability in the social studies. Strength in any of them gives assurance that the pupils possess abilities that help them extend their knowledge of the social studies.

Each spring, the evaluation committees recommend the tests for use in the ensuing school year. Evaluation committees are organized into elementary, junior high, and senior high school groups. Each is composed of teachers, administrators, psychologists, and a central-office representative. Each committee studies and selects tests appropriate to its level. There is a Kindergarten-Grade XII evaluation committee, made up of representatives from the committees from the three levels, to co-ordinate and articulate the program and to recommend the testing for the year to the superintendent. The recommendations from this evaluation committee are discussed by other committees and by the principals and faculties before they go to the superintendent for adoption. Anyone may propose a test for consideration at any time. Consequently, the standardized testing program is flexible, and it changes to meet local needs and conditions.

At the elementary-school level there has been no action in Denver to set up a separate category of persons known as evaluators. These do exist in the secondary schools. Where all test scoring and compilation of data is done by evaluators, there is a tendency for teachers to be less sensitive to the points of strength and weakness. On the other hand, when the classroom teachers and pupils analyze test results—and we believe that is feasible beginning at the third or fourth grade—all become aware of strengths and weaknesses. Under these conditions, when the teacher discovers that a significant number of pupils have missed a question, he will ask, "Why did some of us miss this question? Had we forgotten the answer? Did it deal with something that we had not worked with in class? Were we careless in reading the question or in indicating the answer?"

We believe that evaluation and instruction are interlocked and that problems arise when each becomes compartmentalized. It is when the latter situation exists that one hears the cliché, "Are we teaching for tests?" If the tests used have their foundation in the stated objectives of instruction, this implied criticism has no validity.

The Denver testing program is based upon participation of the classroom teacher. What proficiency in testing does this imply? As tests are selected, an effort is made to obtain those that are relatively simple to administer, that have usable manuals of direction. Then we endeavor, by using supervisory personnel, to raise teacher efficiency in testing. We do this by work in group meetings and by other work with teachers, including demonstrations with classes. We believe that integrity in the giving of tests results from proper administrative attitude—the attitude that pupils' test scores will not be used for ratings or reprisal in any form. Therefore, in testing, results handed in by teachers are accepted as reflecting correct giving and scoring of the tests. The tests used in our survey testing are sent to scoring agents. This involves no reflection upon our teachers but is an application of the principle of external accounting—an inventory of our achievements made by an outside, impartial agency. In general, however, we will accept whatever error that may arise in test administration by teachers in order to retain the teacher as an evaluator in the program. When testing becomes the province of the specialist exclusively, complete understanding of the use of test data in instruction is lost. In schools, as in business concerns, our books are examined by our own employees and by the disinterested experts—the internal and external auditors.

Special Types of Evaluating Instruments

USE OF EVALUATION DATA

Denver teachers at all levels make extensive use of records of class discussion, collections of children's work, diaries, anecdotal records, scores on teacher-made tests, and the like. Periodically, the data are brought together in the report card, which includes both achievement grades and check lists of personal and social-behavior traits.

Passing from standardized tests and the supplementary, locally made tests, we enter the area of various evaluating instruments that may be called controversial because the instruments are more subjective and because opinion differs widely as to interpretation. There are other evaluating instruments which we shall refer to as controversial because their newness and other factors lead to wide variation in their interpretation. We shall broadly classify them into

(a) sociometric techniques, those that are used with groups, and (b) projective techniques, those that are used with individuals. Obviously, they overlap to a considerable extent.

Many Denver teachers have had training in *sociometric* techniques and use them in evaluating groups of pupils. Some teachers of intermediate grades construct sociograms which show patterns of relationships of leaders, followers, and isolates and which also reveal feelings of attraction and repulsion within the group. They follow up with work designed to stimulate courtesy, respect for others, self-control, and more mature behavior.

Some success has been gained in relieving intergroup tensions through these means. For the general information of the teachers, a booklet (*Human Relations in Action*) has been prepared which summarizes the techniques found best as a result of experience.

As individuals are observed in the class situation, the use of *projective techniques* is often indicated as a means for better understanding of personality. For the most part they are administered by the trained persons in the Department of Psychological Services, inasmuch as instruments such as the Rorschach and the Thematic Apperception tests are highly technical. Also, some of these instruments probe into emotions and feelings which need expert interpretation. Then, too, there may be an admixture of diagnosis and therapy not readily perceived by an untrained person. The "Three Wishes" device, which is not too complex, involves diagnosis, as it provides clues to some deep-rooted desires of the child. It may be therapeutic in that expressing a wish may give the child an outlet for an emotion. Even the traditional essay-type test has projective implications which trained persons can detect.

RECORDING THE DATA

It has been mentioned that data of various sorts are synthesized in the report card. The cumulative record, in an even broader sense, becomes the focal point for all evaluation in that it includes data from standardized, sociometric, and projective testing; from informal procedures; from direct observation of pupil behavior by the teacher. The importance of prompt and accurate recording cannot be overstressed. As the pupil passes from grade to grade, each new teacher derives some benefit from what preceding teachers have

learned and recorded. It is invaluable, too, as a pupil passes from a building through transfer or by promotion to higher levels. Employers and civic agencies increasingly ask for summary descriptions of our former pupils. For efficient administration, these records are now microfilmed upon completion. Some recording by automatic machines is coming into use.

The cumulative-record form now in use in Denver was evolved over a period of more than twenty years and has been revised as a result of local experience and of study of forms used in other cities. Spaces are provided for the data previously described, and case studies by specialists may be enclosed in the folder.

Currently, some study is in progress to improve the evaluation of personal-social characteristics. It is not enough merely to check certain listed behavior traits. So far as undesirable traits go, it is more important to trace them to a cause and then, if possible, to do something about the cause. Such problems remain to be solved before we can consider our local record as effective as it may be potentially.

EXPERIMENTAL EVALUATION PROCEDURES

Looking somewhat further into the informal and controversial types of evaluation, we might think of the evaluation of listening ability. In Denver, this is decidedly unfinished business. Experiments have been made with records and tape recordings of speeches, stories, poems, and the like. After these were played to pupils, some pencil-and-paper tests on comprehension were given. We are not satisfied with the results, but continued study is being made. We rely much upon the pupil's learning through hearing, but we cannot say quantitatively how this compares with learning through other means.

The degree of effectiveness of learning through pictures is also waiting for future measurement. Visual education in all its forms continues to gain popularity. Texts are ever more lavishly illustrated, sometimes to the point where the context is almost eliminated. It would seem that, in our culture, pictures are gaining equality with the alphabet and numbers as symbols for communication. Advertisers and propagandists have discovered the value of pictures in the building of attitudes and emotions.

A basis for a study of visual learning, when it begins in earnest,

may be found in the "picture-situation" tests already developed and used by psychologists. The conventional pictures—charts, graphs, maps, globes—have received attention from test-makers.

It might be profitable to make a parallel study of pictures drawn by pupils. Again, the starting point might be the projective tests of this nature now in use, adapting the device to phases of the social studies.

USE OF TEAM JUDGMENTS BY PROFESSIONAL PEOPLE

Another major method of evaluation which is used in Denver is the use of the judgment of teams of professional people. The method may not have the objectivity of the standardized test, but it does avoid the purely subjective appraisal of a single person.

The Kindergarten-Grade XII social-studies committee has both formal and informal appraisal responsibilities. Formally, it may recommend standardized tests; it studies test data to see if curriculum changes are warranted. Informally, group discussion often centers around evaluation matters. For instance, a question may be raised in the committee about the effectiveness of a suggested learning activity, such as a question about the adequacy of the period of time suggested for a unit of instruction.

Another team frequently used is the principal-supervisor-teacher (or teachers) team. They might confer after standardized testing. The question might be raised as to how a given group of pupils could be developed to their expected achievement. All present would suggest procedures and activities. They would discuss further means of evaluation that might be used to check progress as it is made.

There is in the Denver schools a group of persons called elementary co-ordinators of instruction. They are good teachers who have been appointed to assist groups of approximately thirty first- or second-year probationary teachers. The function of these co-ordinators relates entirely to the general improvement of instruction, including, of course, the social studies. As they participate in conferences with teachers, they bring their observations to bear upon evaluation judgments being made.

The team idea logically extends itself to include two groups greatly affected by the work of the schools; namely, the parents and the pupils. The approach in conferences with parents and pupils

varies, depending upon the skills, experiences, and maturity of those participating. The teacher-principal-pupil-parent team can, in some cases, look at test-result profiles. Parents may present their evaluation of pupil behavior in the home. When home study is concerned, they may have judgments about their teaching work in the home and its results.

Perhaps the most complex of the team situations is the making of case studies concerned with behavior problems. Here psychiatrists, psychologists, social workers, and similar specialists participate. The case study and the follow-up work, both in the home and in the school, become technical.

In-service assistance is needed to develop the skills of teachers and parents in working as a team. We have found in Denver that it is easy to work with parents who began with preschool meetings and have continued with study groups sponsored by the parent-teacher association. Such parents have learned something about the vocabulary of testing; they can read test charts and profiles; they have met with school personnel who work with evaluation in all its phases. They know how to reinforce the school program. There continues to be, of course, a contingent of parents who are indifferent and apathetic.

USE OF OPINION SURVEYS AND THE PARTICIPATION OF CITIZENS IN CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

One of the most unique types of evaluation used in Denver is the opinion survey, conducted every third year at the time of the status, or survey, testing. The principal purposes of the opinion survey are (a) to ascertain the general trend of approval or disapproval of the public schools by the citizens of Denver and (b) to ascertain their principal ideas with respect to the instructional program, including, of course, the social studies. Such a survey is conducted by professional opinion-polling personnel and not by parents or by school people.

With respect to the program of the social studies particularly, it is felt that the general effectiveness of the schools is conditioned in large part by the attitudes and opinions of citizens regarding this program. More specifically, the teaching of the social studies is influenced by the general attitude of citizens regarding its im-

portance in the schools and the general opinion of citizens as to whether or not it is being neglected. For example, this question from the opinion survey illustrates one aspect of the survey: "You are familiar with the term 'a well-educated person.' What does a well-educated person mean to you?" In responding to this question in the last two opinion surveys, the citizens have generally indicated that they believe the most important sign of a good education to be the correct use of English, that is, effective speaking and writing skills. The matter of citizenship figures less prominently in responses to survey questions. However, another survey question asked citizens to rate the subject fields according to their importance. In this inquiry English has been ranked first consistently, mathematics usually second, and social studies usually third. A very large proportion of the citizens also mentioned, as being important, certain personality traits and certain social and psychological skills that are characteristic of good citizens. In general, citizens considered the social studies to be of less importance than did the teachers.

Questions used in the 1956 Opinion Survey were as follows:

1. Most of us think some of our friends are well educated and some not so well educated. How do you tell whether or not a person has a good education?
2. What are some of the important things you think they should teach children in the Denver Public Schools today?
3. (Show a card.) Are there any of these subjects you think the Denver Public Schools are neglecting or not spending enough time on?

Agriculture	Industrial Arts
Business Education	Sciences
Arts	Foreign Languages
English	Social Studies
Health	Mathematics
Homemaking	Physical Education
4. (Show a card.) Are there any of them you think the Denver Public Schools are spending *too much* time on or wasting time on these days?
5. (Show a card.) Would you pick out several of these subjects you think are most important?
6. Do you think that the Denver Public Schools are *now* putting about the right emphasis, too much emphasis, or too little emphasis on athletics? on physical fitness?

7. How about our *public* schools today—what things do you dislike about the Denver Public Schools?
8. What things do you especially like about the Denver Public Schools as they are *today*?
9. Well, in general, would you say the Denver Public Schools are doing a good job, a fair job, or a poor job of educating children these days?
10. How about discipline of children in the Denver Public Schools today—do you think the schools are much too easy on children, a little too easy on them, about right, or too hard on them?
11. Do you think teachers and administrators in the Denver Public Schools give enough personal attention and thoughtfulness to (your child) (each child)?
12. What do you think about the present guidance and counseling program in the Denver Public Schools?

Beginning about 1950 there was a major revision of the curriculum of the schools, including the elementary schools. This revision was based largely on the results of the status-testing survey and the opinion survey, both of which showed a need for change and strengthening in the social-studies program. As a further means of recognizing the importance of community evaluation and the importance of citizen participation, the Denver Public Schools invited a number of outstanding citizens to help in curriculum planning, especially in the social studies. Furthermore, during the course of the preparation of units and materials for the social studies, a great many community discussions were held in schools all over the city, at which time reactions of citizens to the major elements in the social-studies curriculum were learned. As tentative materials appeared, they were discussed in faculty meetings and in meetings to which both parents and the general public were invited. Over twenty thousand persons participated in this discussion and evaluation of the social studies. Recorders took notes, which were considered at later meetings; controversial subjects were freely discussed, and recommendations were made from the results of the meetings for the consideration of the social-studies curriculum committee. In contrast with the results from the opinion survey, where there was not a very strong opinion stated with respect to the importance of the social studies, there was revealed in these meetings strong public interest in the specifics of citizenship and of social studies. These meetings revealed, too, that many persons are not as

clear about the meaning of the broad term "social studies" as they are about the broad term "mathematics." They are, however, strongly of the opinion that history, geography, civics, and economics should be an essential part of the education of all pupils.

COMMUNITY STUDY BY TEACHER VISITATION TO BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY

The Denver Public Schools for the past several years have been conducting a program of visitation of teachers to business and industry. This is not the usual program where teachers are trying to learn the nature of the products and the organization of various industries but, rather, a program in which they are trying to get some fundamental answers concerning the economy, the basis of it, and the relationship of schools to such economy. Evaluation of the schools, and particularly of the social studies, comes out of these visits and interviews. Teachers of the elementary schools are expected to deal with aspects of the immediate neighborhood and of the city as a whole. Such visits assist the teachers in preparing for an appropriate emphasis in teaching. They also hear from labor and management an evaluation of pupils who have become employees. They hear of specific behavior patterns that the business community feels the schools can help to improve.

A Critical View of the Denver Program

As a school system weighs the merits of its procedures of evaluation, certain questions arise. The ways in which they are resolved often bear directly upon the future program of the social studies. Some of the questions that have arisen in Denver are as follows:

1. Shall evaluation be organized so as to have a uniform, city-wide procedure? This was resolved by installing the city-wide program described above, which still leaves areas within the control of the building unit to be supplemented at will.
2. Is the evaluation program adequately controlled? This was resolved by assigning central-office personnel to evaluation and by forming evaluation committees, including teacher members, who recommend certain tests and conduct in-service training in various aspects of test usage.
3. To whom should evaluation data be available? This was re-

solved by making data generally available to the public and to the schools so that the data would contribute to instructional improvement and to better practices of counseling and guidance.

4. Is the evaluation program fair to all pupils? This is partly unresolved. The expectancy concept has helped in the analyzing of each pupil's scores in the light of his capability. But the expectancy formula is found least satisfactory with pupils of very high or very low academic rating. Some modifications of expectancy formulas as well as the development of tests standardized on these special populations are much needed. Meanwhile, some advantages have been found in using, with advanced intermediate pupils, tests that are designed for junior high school classes.

*General Questions Relating to Evaluation of the Social Studies**

As was stated in the introductory paragraph, this evaluation program of one school system is not necessarily a model to be followed. Since this program developed in Denver, it was influenced by the professional backgrounds of the staff, by the desires of the citizens, and by various other characteristics of that particular community. Whether or not other schools can use a similar program of evaluation depends upon many factors. Certain questions regarding evaluation of the social studies persist nationally. The manner in which the questions are resolved will affect a community's program. Some of the questions and comments upon them follow.

1. *Should standardized tests be used in the evaluation of the social studies?*

Some educators believe that standardized tests tend to continue the status quo. A school system which has a testing program may hesitate to change its curriculum because it fears that test scores will be adversely affected.

* The Denver Public Schools are committed to a major idea in evaluation which has been termed the auditing function. In one sense, the preceding material in this chapter represents an internal audit of the Denver evaluation program written by Kenneth E. Oberholtzer, with assistance from Richard Madden. And in the same sense the following material in this chapter represents an external audit written by Richard Madden, with assistance from Kenneth E. Oberholtzer. From this point on, Richard Madden, who is a consultant to the Denver schools, lists criteria or general questions which can be related to the social-studies program of Denver or to any other school system.

Other educators maintain that there are many fundamental skills and a considerable body of knowledge basic to good social-studies education, which change but little over a period of years. There is much worth-while knowledge of geography, of the American tradition, of community terminology, of economics, and of government that remains quite stable throughout the useful period of a test. A background of such knowledge, out of which interests grow and generalizations may be developed, is not, they believe, prejudicial to good citizenship.

Should there be greater use made of all knowledge of individual differences as we evaluate growth in the social studies? Much is known about children's mental ability and about their level of reading achievement. Do teachers make good use of the information they have for the purpose of differentiating instruction in the social studies? It is true that they try to find reading material at the level of a pupil's ability to understand it. But we seldom see the extensive use made of intelligence tests in connection with social studies that we see in connection with reading and arithmetic. It appears that differentiated instruction in the social studies has not advanced very far as a result of tested knowledge of individual differences because some oppose differentiation on the grounds that it would lead to a classification of citizens with an elite governing class at the apex.

2. *Are the concepts of objectivity, reliability, and validity, as the measurements specialist accepts them, important in the evaluation of the social studies?*

Classroom teachers and supervisors of instruction recognize in the social studies many worthy objectives that the standardized tests do not measure. They are seeking ways of evaluating pupil development in the areas indicated by the objectives. The instruments or procedures used often lack reliability. The specialist in measurements is restive when the reliability of evaluation does not meet standards to which he has become accustomed. For example, a teacher is concerned about a pupil who withdraws from co-operative work in planning and constructing a mural. He makes observations and does what he can to get the pupil to participate. The specialist could suggest a simple day-to-day recording of incidents concerning the working of the group. This would lend a degree of objectivity and reliability that the more casual observation lacks.

Again, the specialist might suggest different groupings within the class or, possibly, the transfer of the pupil to other committee assignments. Following the observations in this activity and in similar activities during the school day, he could assist the teacher in arriving at valid judgments about the pupil's acceptance and rejection within the class. By means of the more objective data, a planned program for developing the pupil's group contacts would evolve.

Teachers and measurements specialists should work together in improving the manner of observing pupils, the recording of anecdotes, and the related remedial measures. When teachers and measurements consultants, or supervisors, work together in making evaluative judgments of children, the general evaluation program of the school is improved.

3. *Should a school use instruments of evaluation designed to measure objectives which are accepted but do not have proven validity?*

If there were no searching for new measures, there would be but little progress. On the other hand, uncritical use of unproven tests may lead to trouble. Doubtless some readers of this chapter would not approve all of the tests that have been used in the Denver schools. Neither have the Denver educators. Each year they try out new tests and procedures of evaluation and sometimes discard them. Once a new test has been given, a careful analysis is made of it. Success on individual items is tabulated. Items low in percentage of success are studied for curriculum validity, that is, to see if the curriculum includes what the item ostensibly measures. After the analysis is completed, a decision is made as to possible action where deficiencies are indicated.

Some instruments may measure changing situations and thereby have temporary validity. The sociogram is an example. Its description of a situation may be quite invalid a month after it has been made. Anecdotes may be very misleading a year hence. But such instruments have value for specific, short-term purposes. Professional staffs will vary in their competence to utilize the data gathered by an instrument that has temporary validity. The use of such instruments of evaluation may be sound in one school and unwise in another.

4. *Are the objectives of the social studies so numerous and diverse that a teacher may not be able to co-ordinate all of the good measures of them?*

Inasmuch as the elementary-school teacher has to keep in mind so many aspects of children's achievement, it would seem wise for a school to concentrate upon important, broad objectives. A teacher is unable to keep more than a few major ideas in mind at one time. Although a large number of objectives may be listed in a course of study, they usually support a few major core ideas. Any one of the supporting ideas may not be essential. If the analysis of test content is too minute, or if the interpreter of a test attaches great significance to low percentages on individual items, the result may be the teaching for specific content without much thought for larger concepts, generalizations, and relationships.

There are common factors that run through achievement in many of the subject-matter areas. A teacher may develop in his pupils greater power to organize content and to think through problems in science or geography that will transfer readily to the study of history. The study skills learned in history may also apply to geography and science. The teacher who is concerned for children's growth in major areas will likely be more effective than the teacher who loses track of his children as growing individuals because of his attention to details.

Social-studies evaluation in a given school should be considered in relationship to the total program of evaluation in which the teacher participates. A general reading test, a study-skills test, and even a test of quantitative relationships add much to a teacher's knowledge of a pupil's probable ability in the social studies.

5. *Can objective tests measure enough of the behavior of a pupil to provide security in the use one makes of the measurement?*

This question recapitulates the gist of the four preceding questions. It brings to focus one of the sharp issues in the measurement of the social studies. All agree that some of the objectives of the social studies are so intangible that satisfactory measures have not yet been produced. On the other hand, many educators maintain that good measures exist for some of the objectives. Shall we use those that exist, or shall we maintain that partial testing distorts one's judgments of total achievement to a degree that the resulting

harm outweighs the resulting good? It is argued that a teacher who administers a test of the social studies that is heavily loaded with items of history and geography, for example, will tend to load his teaching with history and geography, so it is better for the proper weighting of all of the objectives of social studies not to measure any of them.

This is a point of view that runs counter to the times. Precise measurement has pushed out the frontiers of the natural sciences to an extent that respect for the social studies contemporarily must be built upon more objective data. Social-studies students may well note the attitude of the physical scientists who have operated with the best measures currently available while seeking more precise measures. Even though formal measures of an attribute may not be available, judgments of its growth in children still must be made. Accumulated judgments become evaluation. The observations upon which such judgments are based can be ordered and quantified to some extent. A school system which organizes regular and orderly observations of the "intangibles" need not fear that imbalance in curriculum will result from testing as much of its curriculum as it can by reliable pencil-and-paper tests.

6. *Is there merit in the evaluation of enabling conditions?*

One often hears a supervisor say that he can tell a good social-studies teacher merely by looking at his classroom or by noting the activity of the pupils. Supervisors no doubt vary in ability to differentiate between the hum of purpose and the sound of busyness, or between evidences of insight as contrasted with verbalisms. A keen, experienced observer can likely detect a good social-studies classroom environment, but he must avoid being ensnared by the mere presence of activity and things. The observer must keep his objectives clearly in mind, for there is no guarantee that classroom activity produces better thinking than does an inductive discussion. It is very likely true, however, that small committees of children are learning valuable ways of working in groups that will not be developed in a total class discussion. An experienced observer can probably discern something of the quality of instruction by observing the process of teaching. The presence of good organization, instructive materials, and thought-provoking discussions is worthy of being noted.

Another enabling condition for good instruction is a community opinion that the social studies are of value and that free discussion of current and past social issues leads to growth in judgment. A survey of lay opinion which reveals that this attitude is widely held in a community is a measure of the effectiveness of the social-studies program, past and present.

It appears that there is some value in observing the enabling environment of the social-studies climate, material, and activities, but such personal observations should be carefully compared with objective measures. The true value of social-studies instruction must rest upon the extent of growth in children's knowledge, thinking, and behavior.

7. Should the same type of evaluation be applied at all grade levels?

Evaluation of the elementary social studies is affected by a rather widely accepted gradation of content, separating to some extent the experience of the kindergarten through Grade III from the experience in Grade IV through Grade VI. There is relatively little standardized test material available to measure content achievement in the primary grades, whereas there is a growing body of test material available for the intermediate grades. This condition affects the kinds of evaluation that may be employed but should not affect the attempts to evaluate. At the earlier grade levels more observations of the enabling environment and of children's activities will be used. Writing anecdotal records, plotting pupil-to-pupil contacts, recording conflicts, observing patterns of pupils' thinking, and the like will be more prevalent. As social adjustment grows, attention to its physical aspects usually recedes, being replaced at higher grade levels by increasing intellectual concern about the affairs of people.

Conclusion

Evaluation of the social studies is difficult because the objectives lack singular definition and cover a broad area. There has been a tendency to place within the social-studies framework all the worthwhile goals of good social relationships among men, as well as a body of content from the areas of geography, economics, history, political science, psychology, and sociology. At the collegiate level,

evaluation of these disciplines as separate fields is difficult enough. To separate and evaluate their contributions to the elementary-school social-studies content is considerably more difficult. Add to this the task of assessing growth in children's treatment of and regard for others, present and far away, and the complexity of the task becomes formidable.

The purpose of this chapter has been to describe how one school system approaches its task of evaluation. The chapter is designed to stimulate thinking about evaluation rather than to establish patterns to be followed.

Evaluation of growth in the social studies is difficult, but defeatism is not in order. As objectives become clearly defined, measurements specialists and other educators soon bring forth evaluation procedures that become increasingly reliable and valid.

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CHAPTER XII

Improvement of Teaching in the Social Studies

ERNEST O. MELBY

Educational Leadership in the Social Studies

Since there are many treatments of the general problems of educational leadership, it would appear that this section should deal with the problems of leadership peculiar to the social studies if such problems can be said to present themselves. An effort to locate leadership problems especially characteristic of the social-studies area forces us to consider briefly the objectives of teaching in general and those peculiar to the social studies.

Traditional concepts of education usually held that the teacher had succeeded when the pupil knew the skills and facts in which he had been instructed. Thus, if a pupil knew the structure and functioning of local government and could answer questions about these in an examination, the teacher felt he had succeeded. He did not concern himself very much with the degree to which his pupils used this knowledge in effective citizenship performance, in social behavior. More modern thinking concerning the role of the teacher and the outcomes of education will not accept such views of the teacher's role. These more modern views hold that the inculcation of knowledges and skills is mere instruction and not teaching; that fact acquisition is mere learning and not real education. True education must change behavior, change the individual so that he is different and behaves differently.

What, then, is the special application of this distinction between learning and education, between instruction and teaching to the problems in the social-studies area? Since the social studies, first of all, seek desirable social behavior, good teaching is that kind of teaching which produces the desired social behavior. And leadership in the social studies is the kind of leadership that produces the

better teaching. We are, therefore, brought face to face with the problems of influencing human behavior. In other words, our basic problem is not how we can instruct pupils in the facts about government, for example, but rather how we can teach them so their attitude toward government will be right and their actions as citizens will be honest and public-spirited. How then can we influence pupil behavior, and how can we influence teacher behavior?

Note that we shall now judge the teacher by the way his pupils behave and not by the way they pass examinations. We shall judge the supervisor, not by how much he knows himself but by the way the teachers under his supervision teach; in other words, by the way the teachers behave. This forces us to examine not only what supervisors know and what teachers know but also the behavior patterns that will produce similar behavior patterns on the part of others.

What do we know about influencing behavior? In such limited space one is likely to oversimplify and is certain to be accused of oversimplification, but we must, it seems to me, take the risks.

Importance of Individual Attitudes

Statement of Principle: *In promoting desirable social behavior, the individual's attitudes toward others and toward his own responsibilities are probably more important than his knowledge.*

This principle is especially important in the area of educational leadership and supervision, since it simultaneously affects the activities of pupils, teachers, and supervisors. It is especially important that it be remembered now in the fuller development of professional knowledges and skills. Sometimes it seems that the more professional techniques we have at our disposal and the more complete our specialized knowledge the less likely we are to realize the importance of our attitudes and personal responsibilities in relation to our professional knowledge. There are, perhaps, some areas in which we can utilize specialized competence more or less irrespective of the concomitant personal attitudes and qualities. Thus, it may be possible for us to utilize the skills of the engineer or the atomic scientist even though we might feel that his personal attitudes leave something to be desired. But in teaching and educational leadership, the

attitudes of the teacher and supervisor are so inextricably related to his effectiveness that it is not feasible for us to consider one without having in mind the other.

Important as teacher and supervisor attitudes are, they are not always recognized within the profession, either theoretically or in our day-to-day practice. The individual who has acquired certain knowledges is likely to be impressed with their importance. He is very likely to be impatient with the necessity for special consideration to other human beings and annoyed at the mere thought of having to adjust his behavior to others. He may also feel that his own personal life is his own business and that the presence or absence of dedication to social progress and the welfare of others should have no bearing on the effectiveness of his work or the degree to which it is recognized as long as he presents himself day by day with his demonstrated professional knowledges and skills. If, however, we look beneath the surface of our day-to-day teaching and leadership activities, we shall find that such an attitude is indefensible. As supervisors we cannot inspire dedicated attitudes on the part of other people unless we possess them ourselves. We shall not promote a high level of social responsibility on the part of pupils unless we exemplify a similar sense of responsibility in our professional circles. It may sound repetitious to say it, but whatever we want pupils to be and do, that we must ourselves be and do.

It is not only our broad social attitudes that are vitally important but also our outlook with regard to our own profession, its importance in society, and our own feeling about it. All of these determine the effectiveness of our work. This is especially important for us to remember at a time when the teaching profession is subjected to widespread criticism from without and widespread sense of frustration and discouragement from within. We may rest assured that a teacher will not be effective with his pupils if he feels put upon or feels that he is in a profession that is neglected and has lost its importance in society. Similarly the supervisory officer who has such an attitude toward his profession will not be inspiring in his relationships with teachers and pupils.

Nothing can take the energizing and inspiring qualities away from the profession of teaching if only we sense our roles properly

and have the appropriate sense of values. Regardless of how much we are paid, regardless of public attitudes toward us, and regardless of the temper of our times, teaching is the loftiest of professions. Its power is dependent upon its dedication. Its influence rests upon the teacher's own sense of responsibility. The teacher's own state of mind is influenced by his own conception of the role of the teacher and the power of the teacher's role in society.

Teacher education has no more important responsibility than to imbue prospective teachers and teachers in service with the greatness and promise of our profession. Supervisory officers have no more important responsibility than to daily exemplify such attitudes with regard to the teaching profession in their dealings with teachers. And if our teachers could communicate their own respect for their profession to our pupils I am confident we would have no great difficulty recruiting the number and quality of teachers we need.

More than anything else it is our attitude toward our profession that determines our mental hygiene in our daily activities. The supervisory officer who is enthusiastic about his work, who sees great promise in the field of educational leadership, who finds satisfaction in inspiring others to achieve, and who loves his work and his associates is almost certain to communicate similar attitudes to teachers and, in turn, to pupils. Such a supervisor is rarely complaining about being tired. He is ready to assume additional responsibilities even when it may appear to others that he is overburdened. He appears energetic and refreshed even at the end of a hard day. Often his associates feel that his energy appears inexhaustible. In all probability he has no more physical energy than the average of his associates. It is his own vision of his responsibilities, his respect for and realization of the magnitude of his task, his love of his fellow men, and his dedication to the profession of teaching that carry him through and give him the strength and tenacity of purpose that convince others of his exceptional abilities.

It should, of course, be readily admitted that these are not special problems related to the social studies. But since in the social studies we are primarily concerned with social behavior, it behooves us to place knowledge and attitudes in their proper perspective here more than in other subjects. Since in the past we have often developed

the attitude that behavior was dependent upon possession of certain knowledges, it is of the utmost importance for us to remember that attitude as well as knowledge conditions behavior.

Preparation of Teachers and Supervisors

Statement of Principle: *In the preparation of teachers and supervisors, breadth and perspective in human relations, knowledge, and understanding are increasingly important.*

We are living in the world of the specialist. Specialization in education and professional functioning are the order of the day. Increasingly, American education has sought to make the individual competent in some vocational- or specialized-area pursuit. Within the broad professions, such as teaching, specialization has also come to reign supreme. The professor of elementary education would not think it fitting for him to express his opinion of those who are preparing to function in the secondary school or, least of all, to teach them. We have specialists in the teaching of the social studies, in the teaching of science, in the teaching of mathematics, and the like. Different kinds of psychologists and sociologists can hardly communicate with one another because of the high specialization of their vocabularies. In the broad enterprise of discovering new knowledge, no doubt, we need this high level of specialization. But in teaching, it becomes a definite liability unless it is coupled with broad understanding and adequate perspective with regard to the interrelationship of the various aspects of knowledge. I participated recently in a discussion of the problem of preserving the blessings of liberty. A young man I thought to be of exceptional ability argued that patriotism in our country has lagged because of the growing emphasis upon the problems of world government and world citizenship. He failed to see, of course, that our own country will be in great danger and perhaps unable to preserve its freedom unless it can manage itself in relation to other nations and world affairs. This is an example of the importance of perspective and of the breadth and depth of understanding. Others could be mentioned.

If we are to be effective as supervisors and leaders in the improvement of teaching in the social studies, we shall have to realize much more than we have in the past the broad limits of our professional knowledges and understandings. The mere facts with re-

and have the appropriate sense of values. Regardless of how much we are paid, regardless of public attitudes toward us, and regardless of the temper of our times, teaching is the loftiest of professions. Its power is dependent upon its dedication. Its influence rests upon the teacher's own sense of responsibility. The teacher's own state of mind is influenced by his own conception of the role of the teacher and the power of the teacher's role in society.

Teacher education has no more important responsibility than to imbue prospective teachers and teachers in service with the greatness and promise of our profession. Supervisory officers have no more important responsibility than to daily exemplify such attitudes with regard to the teaching profession in their dealings with teachers. And if our teachers could communicate their own respect for their profession to our pupils I am confident we would have no great difficulty recruiting the number and quality of teachers we need.

More than anything else it is our attitude toward our profession that determines our mental hygiene in our daily activities. The supervisory officer who is enthusiastic about his work, who sees great promise in the field of educational leadership, who finds satisfaction in inspiring others to achieve, and who loves his work and his associates is almost certain to communicate similar attitudes to teachers and, in turn, to pupils. Such a supervisor is rarely complaining about being tired. He is ready to assume additional responsibilities even when it may appear to others that he is overburdened. He appears energetic and refreshed even at the end of a hard day. Often his associates feel that his energy appears inexhaustible. In all probability he has no more physical energy than the average of his associates. It is his own vision of his responsibilities, his respect for and realization of the magnitude of his task, his love of his fellow men, and his dedication to the profession of teaching that carry him through and give him the strength and tenacity of purpose that convince others of his exceptional abilities.

It should, of course, be readily admitted that these are not special problems related to the social studies. But since in the social studies we are primarily concerned with social behavior, it behooves us to place knowledge and attitudes in their proper perspective here more than in other subjects. Since in the past we have often developed

the attitude that behavior was dependent upon possession of certain knowledges, it is of the utmost importance for us to remember that attitude as well as knowledge conditions behavior.

Preparation of Teachers and Supervisors

Statement of Principle: *In the preparation of teachers and supervisors, breadth and perspective in human relations, knowledge, and understanding are increasingly important.*

We are living in the world of the specialist. Specialization in education and professional functioning are the order of the day. Increasingly, American education has sought to make the individual competent in some vocational- or specialized-area pursuit. Within the broad professions, such as teaching, specialization has also come to reign supreme. The professor of elementary education would not think it fitting for him to express his opinion of those who are preparing to function in the secondary school or, least of all, to teach them. We have specialists in the teaching of the social studies, in the teaching of science, in the teaching of mathematics, and the like. Different kinds of psychologists and sociologists can hardly communicate with one another because of the high specialization of their vocabularies. In the broad enterprise of discovering new knowledge, no doubt, we need this high level of specialization. But in teaching, it becomes a definite liability unless it is coupled with broad understanding and adequate perspective with regard to the interrelationship of the various aspects of knowledge. I participated recently in a discussion of the problem of preserving the blessings of liberty. A young man I thought to be of exceptional ability argued that patriotism in our country has lagged because of the growing emphasis upon the problems of world government and world citizenship. He failed to see, of course, that our own country will be in great danger and perhaps unable to preserve its freedom unless it can manage itself in relation to other nations and world affairs. This is an example of the importance of perspective and of the breadth and depth of understanding. Others could be mentioned.

If we are to be effective as supervisors and leaders in the improvement of teaching in the social studies, we shall have to realize much more than we have in the past the broad limits of our professional knowledges and understandings. The mere facts with re-

gard to the structure of government and our society are inadequate. Knowledge of America is inadequate without knowledge of the world. Sociological understanding is inadequate without comparable economic insights. Political power is insufficient without moral and spiritual qualities. Historical understanding is vital both in interpretation and in maintaining perspective and one's own good mental health.

One example can be mentioned as a characteristic development of the current scene. From 1933 to perhaps 1944, social progress in America took place largely as a result of governmental action. A great part of this governmental action either came from or was stimulated by the federal government. But from 1944 to 1955, social, economic, and political progress has taken place much more as a result of the work of voluntary associations and local government. In fact, the growth of voluntarism is perhaps the distinguishing characteristic of domestic American life in the last decade. Citizens are discovering that many of the things they have sought to secure through governmental action can better be secured through voluntary association of one kind or another. As an example, organized labor appears to be shifting its emphasis from concentration upon legislation in Washington to the bargaining table in achieving its aims.

Should voluntarism grow in this country in the next decades as it has in the last one, a great deal of the emphasis of our social-studies instruction will need to be placed upon the citizen's relationship to voluntary agencies and his leadership in them. For example, many community services are cared for through the Community Chest. Girl Scouts, Boy Scouts, the League of Women Voters, and the Committee on Economic Development are others. This is only one example of the importance of perspective and breadth of insight and understanding in relation to good citizenship and especially to effective leadership in improving education. All of this means that we must read more widely, think more deeply, experience more fully and vitally, and touch life in more places if our leadership is to have the required perspective and dynamism.

Factors Influencing Teacher and Pupil Behaviors

Statement of Principle: *Teacher and pupil behaviors are in-*

fluenced by the total setting in which teachers and pupils work and live.

Next to an overemphasis upon knowledge in teaching, perhaps our greatest error as teachers and supervisors has been a failure to sense the proper role of schools in our society in relation to the total educational task. By and large, as teachers and supervisors we exaggerate the role of the school and minimize the role of the community, the home, the church, and the total environment as they play upon the individual pupil or citizen. Here we have a peculiarly destructive error. Overemphasis on the power of the school misleads us in our daily activities. It causes us to overlook allies at the community level that could greatly enhance our power. It blinds us to the negative influences that are often undermining our best efforts. In the large it keeps us from mobilizing the total resources available to us in influencing teacher and pupil behavior.

A concrete instance comes to mind. A supervisor found that a teacher in the seventh grade was carrying on her social-studies teaching in what seemed to be a rather mechanical and ineffective manner. Inspiration seemed to be lacking in her teaching. Enthusiasm was not present either in the teacher's manner or in the pupil's responses. The supervisor blamed the instructional approach, criticized the paucity of materials, helped the teacher to change her approach and to enrich her materials. Subsequent visits by the supervisor found the teacher equally lacking in inspirational qualities and the pupils but little improved in their responses. Only accidentally the supervisor discovered that the teacher was facing a distressing home situation that was sapping her vitality and interfering with her best morale. Together the supervisor and the teacher faced this personal problem. Ways were found of improving the teacher's home situation and especially of improving the teacher's attitude toward it. Gradually more vitality and enthusiasm came into the teacher's work. Her own mental hygiene improved. Her teaching became more enthusiastic and inspirational. Pupil responses improved. In all probability, no end of changes in curriculum, teaching method, and instructional materials could have been made in this particular classroom with little or no improvement in the effectiveness of the education provided. The fundamental problem was the teacher's own personal life in her out-of-school hours. Until

this constant problem had been faced, little else that was done would have been effective.

To many supervisory officers a recognition of the influence of the total environment of teachers and pupils is an exasperating situation. Some supervisors feel that the teacher's personal life is none of their business. They have a brisk and businesslike attitude toward those with whom they work. Sometimes they are unsympathetic in attitude and lack the patience to listen when others are reciting their troubles. Some very bright and alert supervisors are the worst offenders in these directions. Because they have had few difficulties themselves, they cannot understand why others should have trouble. Here, too, we have an explanation of the fact that some supervisors of only average intellectual stature and subject-matter grasp seem at times more effective than others of outstanding subject-matter knowledge and scholastic attainment.

Maintaining Teacher Morale

Statement of Principle: *Sense of belonging is more important than salary scale, working conditions, and teaching load in determining teacher morale.*

Recent studies in industrial management have caused us to re-evaluate many factors that in the past have been associated with the morale of workers in general. The studies of Mayo, Roethlisberger, and others indicate that the relationship of the worker to his associates and the degree to which he is respected as a person are more important than salary or working conditions in stimulating high output. These studies, while carried on under circumstances quite different from those which prevail in teaching, are nevertheless stimulating to us. My own feeling is that a sense of belonging and team-membership are, if anything, more important in teaching than in other fields of activity. The very nature of our work in education would lead us to this conclusion. Yet, conversations with literally thousands of teachers who have been in my summer-session and other classes in the last thirty years have convinced me that sense of belonging is not a general feeling on the part of American teachers. Especially in the larger cities, teachers often feel that they are far removed from those who determine policies and from those who must evaluate their competence. Often,

too, teachers do not feel that they have close relationships even to those who work in the next room, and their sense of separation from parents and communities is often overwhelming.

Probably there are few groups of people who work harder than our supervisory officers—our principals, supervisors, and directors of instruction. Yet, all of these people at times have a feeling of frustration and ineffectiveness. In considerable part, this feeling is due to the fact that we place our efforts in areas that have little to do with the effectiveness of teaching. If the results of studies in industry can be applied in education, they suggest that often we in educational leadership are pulling the small levers rather than the big ones. We, for example, keep modifying the curriculum, changing the methods of teaching, altering the materials of instruction, changing the buildings and equipment; but little seems to happen to the effectiveness of education in general.

Some of the big levers that would give us far more growth on the part of teachers would be more warmth in human relations, more faith in teachers and children, and greater use of community resources.

If, as supervisors in the social-studies area, we would prevail upon our teachers to participate more in community life, they would have not only a greater sense of belonging but a greater sense of vitality with regard to their instructional materials. If we could relate these same teachers more warmly to their associates, they would not feel so alone; and if we in the field of leadership could develop a closer relationship to these same teachers, we ourselves would take on a greater personal warmth, possess greater inspirational quality, and in turn communicate more of this to the people with whom we work.

How does one develop a sense of belonging? One has a sense of belonging when one feels that he is respected and considered in the determination of educational policies, when the supervisors ask one's opinion with regard to educational changes, with reference to new materials and equipment. One does not get a sense of belonging merely by receiving orders from superiors. One achieves a far greater sense of belonging when one is asked questions with regard to matters of major policy. Many supervisory officers hold meetings and conferences with teachers only to make announce-

ments. Time after time teachers go to such gatherings to hear announcements from on high, so to speak. They go away with no inspiration and no sense of being anything more than underlings who do the bidding of their superiors.

A similar situation prevails with regard to the teacher's relationship to the community. In many instances the teacher's only contact with the community is negative. It comes when a parent or citizen feels dissatisfied with the school and comes to complain. In such cases the teacher is rarely asked to serve on a committee. A striking example prevailed during World War II when in many communities the only task that seemed appropriate for teachers in the community was the making out of ration cards. Little wonder the teachers developed the feeling that the only use the community had for them was the performing of a relatively menial task. Teachers who are rarely invited to the homes of parents, who are not asked to serve the community in important ways, or who are not consulted with regard to community planning or community activities cannot be blamed for developing the feeling that the community sees them as menial servants and has little or no interest in them. Such teachers feel they are working for the community but are not a part of it. This lack of a sense of belonging militates greatly against their effectiveness in teaching.

As supervisors we can do a great deal to help our teachers acquire a sense of belonging both in and out of school. In most cases our own community contacts are greater than those of the teachers. We can use our own contacts to stimulate others for teachers. We can do something to bring about social contacts between teachers and citizens of the community. We can meet teachers with warmth and understanding and give them a very definite feeling that they are part of us and part of the school team.

It may be objected by some supervisors that they do not have time for this kind of undertaking. If they will think about it a little, they will not make statements of this kind. To say that one has no time to stimulate social activity for teachers in and out of school is to say that one does not have time to do one's most important duties. It is not time we lack. It is rather the required outgoing personality, the realization of the importance of the undertaking, and the skills in social directions that are required. We shall

not acquire these skills and attitudes unless we ourselves do everything possible to develop the outgoing personality and the broad human interest that we need. Any teacher or any supervisor can greatly enrich his own life if he will merely devote himself to the people who are now neglected, seek out the people who seem always to be alone, ask them questions, learn something of their interests, profit from their strength, and enrich his own life by contributing to theirs in the areas of greatest need.

The individual who does not like people, who does not enjoy conversation with others, lacks one of the very important qualities in educational leadership. This does not mean that such a quality cannot be acquired. People are not born with outgoing personalities and social graces. These are acquired in the course of a life in which one has an opportunity to practice them. Many individuals who were retiring and ill at ease in the company of others have developed outstanding outgoing personalities and social graces that made them acceptable in almost any company.

One striking example is Eleanor Roosevelt who tells how she expanded from an ill-at-ease girl preoccupied with herself to a warm, forceful personality. Think what influence she has had in bringing people together in greater understanding on a world-wide basis!

The supervisor or teacher who undertakes the task of improving his own personality and his own human relationships will, in the process, help others to improve theirs.

Democracy and Freedom

Statement of Principle: *In the educational enterprise, freedom is more important than collective process.*

Few words have been used more frequently in the last two decades than the word "democracy." We talk about democracy in supervision, democracy in administration, democracy in teaching, democracy in human relationships. When, however, one examines what has been done in the name of democracy in all of these areas, he realizes that there is much confusion as to the meaning of terms. In many school systems, democratization of administration has been a process of wresting control from superintendents, principals, and supervisory officers and lodging it in the hands of teachers. In these situations, teachers vote upon almost everything. They vote on the

choice of textbooks, the selection of equipment, changes in the curriculum, and even, in some cases, on teaching method. In certain instances, once the teachers have taken a vote, all of them must follow the dictates of the vote regardless of their individual attitudes. There seemingly is no bill of rights to enable the individual teacher to follow his own conscience and his own educational outlook. As a result of all this voting the teachers have escaped the domination of supervisory officers only to be caught in the domination of a collective process. They won their freedom from administrators only to lose it to a collectivism. In some cases they are so delighted to escape the administrators that they do not sense the degree to which they have been subjected to control by their own colleagues.

As time goes on, the chains they have themselves forged become heavy around their necks. They become dissatisfied with the controls, and they begin to find ways of releasing themselves from the domination of the group as a whole. As they undertake this second process of release from restrictions, they will give more attention to freedom and less to collective process. Writing about this problem as it occurs broadly in our society in his stimulating volume *The Public Philosophy*, Walter Lippman says, "My hope is that both liberty and democracy can be preserved before the one destroys the other." Freedom is not only the most precious possession of our society as a whole; it is the most precious condition of the teacher and of the supervisor himself. No matter what may be the trappings of political democracy we introduce into the educational scene, we shall not develop a dynamic education unless the primary condition of freedom prevails.

The fact that we fear an oppressive collectivism must not lead us to undemocratic procedures and attitudes. We must remember that a school is different from a legislative assembly. It is a grouping of people for creative, scientific, and artistic purposes and activities. Legislation may well move forward by compromise and voting. But in the artistic and scientific realm compromise has no reality and we cannot make a scientific untruth true by a majority vote. This does not mean that we cannot have both democracy and freedom. It means rather that in the educational enterprise we should have the maximum of communication and knowledge of each other's viewpoints and a minimum of voting and legislation. When we vote

it should be on broad policy and not on details. Even on broad policy, we the teachers cannot have the only voice. The public must be heard, the board of education must be involved, and pupils should also take part.

It is sometimes hard to explain the tendency of some teacher groups to overlegislate. One reason is their lack of confidence in each other. And this, in part, proceeds from intolerance and lack of humility. And lack of acquaintance feeds intolerance. Hence, the remedy is constant and full communication.

The modern emphasis upon group dynamics and group process has in some cases blinded us to the fact that all progress must come from the creative power of individual human minds. Group process may bring together the contributions of many individuals, but unless the contributions of individuals are there, group process can do little. It is to the unique creative power of the individual human spirit that we must look for all progress in art, science, literature, statecraft, and commerce. Since this is the case, the greatest strategic problem of human society is the conservation and development of the creative talents of individual human beings. Such knowledge as we have of the conditions under which individual human beings develop their creative powers indicates that there are three conditions for such development. They are security, affection, and freedom. Moreover, the three conditions are interdependent. Desirable as security and affection are, they will not be effective without freedom. And freedom without security and affection may gain us little.

The vitality of freedom to the creative process should cause us to put up a stop sign or at least a slow sign with regard to any proposal which, however democratic or otherwise desirable it may sound, limits the freedom of individual pupils, teachers, or supervisors. While freedom is a vital ingredient of a creative society generally speaking, it is especially so in the realm of education, for the primary goal of education is the fullest development of individual human beings, and this cannot be accomplished unless the individual is free to be himself. Our supervisory problem is, therefore, in large part the problem of how we can secure for teachers and for pupils the greatest freedom for individual growth and development consistent with a total society which is stable and creative.

Unfortunately our theory of administration has not come to grips in effective fashion with this problem. We need to examine the various activities involved in administration and supervision and classify them in the manner in which they can best be performed if security, affection, and freedom are the conditions for creative achievement and, therefore, the criteria for the choice of administrative processes and assignments. My own experience convinces me that groups cannot function effectively in liberating the individual for creative effort, that group action tends more often to restrict than to liberate the individual. It would seem, therefore, that the liberation of the individual for creative effort is an appropriate administrative function to be discharged by an administrative officer selected because of his capacity to free people for creative effort. At the same time, it is probably true that policy determination is an appropriate group responsibility that should be participated in by parents, lay citizens, board members, teachers, and even pupils.

How do we free people for creative effort? How do we manage policy-making so the process becomes broadly educational? We learn when we are secure, when we relax, and when we overcome our fears of each other. Here many factors come into play. The supervisor's personality, faith in teachers, affection for them, and visible respect for their opinions are all powerful elements. We must listen—"hear people out." We must organize the school so that creative activity is both stimulated and rewarded. We must express approval frequently, and stand by in sympathy when things go wrong. The supervisor must be the kind of person who can be trusted no matter what happens. Some total professional environments are creative; some are stultifying. Some stimulate destructive, competitive attitudes while others promote co-operative endeavor. It is the leadership's task to promote a total environment that is creative and co-operative.

It is not undemocratic to delegate responsibilities to supervisors or administrators. Certainly it is not undemocratic to give individual teachers a large measure of choice in instructional methods, curriculum materials, and day-by-day treatment of individual children. If the freedom of the teacher is restricted by group action, his freedom is lost just as truly as if lost through an administrative officer who behaves in arbitrary fashion.

It should, of course, be remembered that if the liberation of teachers for creative effort is the function of administration, administrators must be selected with this criterion in mind. The fact that they have not been so selected in the past does not suggest that the principle is wrong but, rather, that we should have a different set of criteria in selection.

The question may be asked: In the presence of so great an emphasis on freedom, what protection have we against bungling and serious mistakes? We have, I believe, the same protection that we have in the field of medicine, where the individual practitioner is largely free to utilize his professional knowledge and skill. True, mistakes are made in medicine as in every other human endeavor, but few who have studied the problem would argue that we would have fewer mistakes if medical men were subjected to routine supervision and if their daily acts were subject to votes taken by medical associations with regard to the treatment of diseases and other matters that must be handled on an individual basis.

Supervisors should, I believe, have large powers of choice, decision, and negative veto. But their attitudes should be such that these powers are used only in extreme instances. Such supervisory arrangements make for the maximum of freedom on the part of individual teachers, free teachers from time-consuming administrative activities, and make the best use of creative talents on every level.

Freedom is not merely the absence of restraint. One has to work for freedom. Its achievement calls for analysis of one's situation, knowledge of weaknesses and strengths, sense of direction, and motivation. The teacher who does not know what to do has a limitation on his freedom just as real as a restrictive order from his supervisors. If the teacher has so little confidence in his own judgment that he is afraid to experiment, he is not free—even if the supervisor says he is free to experiment. The teacher who has not overcome his prejudices, fears, and feelings of inferiority is not free. It is the supervisor's challenge to help him overcome these obstacles.

Participation and Learning

Statement of Principle: *Participation teaches both teachers and*

pupils more about desirable behavior than book-learning and class discussion.

We have been told repeatedly that we learn what we live. Some may argue that part of what we learn comes from living and part from books. But here we overlook the process by which we influence behavior. One may read John Donne's poem, "No Man Is an Island," but unless one accepts the idea, no action is likely to result. But if the idea is accepted and the individual acts as if all men were part of him and he part of them, learning takes place. It is, therefore, the acceptance and the doing that produce the learning. Thus, learning by reading from books is, in the last analysis, learning by participation.

Some may argue that participation reveals one's fellows at their worst. But even this is part of the learning process. Many a young teacher has received great stimulus from student-teaching done under adverse conditions. But we do not stress participation in order to eliminate book-learning. Rather, we introduce it to amplify, clarify, and verbalize experience. It is not so much that books explain and give meaning to experience as that experience gives meaning to books. We have no assurance that book-learning will produce action, but rich and meaningful participation will encourage reading of books. Verbally we accept learning by doing, but we go on behaving in schools and universities much as if it were not true. In other words, we do not act as if it were true that we learn what we live.

Anyone who has tried to so change education that people will learn by doing, by actual participation, knows how difficult it is to overcome the inertia that is present in school and academic routines. The academician seems afraid that action inhibits thought, that somehow there is a conflict between the world of action (of doing) and the world of ideas. Lancelot Hogben has commented on our usual practice by saying that if we teach pupils to think without acting while they are in school we must not be surprised if in later life they act without thinking. That is, one learns to act on the basis of sound thinking by acting on such thinking. Thinking without acting will not suffice.

Here we have the key to the unreality as well as the ineffectiveness of much academic learning. We learn no end of facts and can

successfully recall them in the course of an examination, but we do little about the significance of the facts in our daily lives. We learn what the important elements of a good diet are, but we go on eating a diet that does not include these elements. We learn the duties of citizenship, but as citizens we often ignore these duties or responsibilities as we have been taught to repeat them in an examination. If we learn how to teach people to be good citizens by letting them be good citizens now, we shall probably be unbelievably successful in citizenship education. Participation is thus the magic key to greater power for education. We would ourselves be astounded by the improvement that would take place in education were we to teach by participation to a larger extent.

If learning by doing is good for pupils, it is good for teachers too. From a supervisory standpoint, this tells us a great deal about what we ought to do. It would suggest that much of the time we now spend in talking to teachers about new methods and curricula might well be spent in encouraging these same teachers to have more vital experiences in the way of travel, community participation, and other experiences which would give them a greater opportunity to learn by direct experience. Such attitude and action on our part might result in a radically changed role for the supervisor and for supervision in relation to education in general and the social studies in particular. There is probably no educational area in which the teacher's richness of experience plays a larger part than in the social studies, nor is there any subject in which learning by doing is as vital to our ultimate goals as in this field.

The Community as a Learning Laboratory

Statement of Principle: *The education-centered community gains greater educational power by adhering to the guiding principles presented in this chapter.*

The social-studies supervisor has tremendous resources. He is literally surrounded by a laboratory. Every school is located in some kind of a community. Often within a stone's throw of the school building there are industries and social organizations of almost every description, voluntary associations, government agencies, religious groups, radio stations, newspapers, and the like. In physical science we spend hundreds of millions of dollars building

huge machines and providing expensive laboratory facilities. In the social sciences these laboratory facilities are created for us by other social agencies. We have only to devise ways of using them. They are ready for our use.

In many cases developmental and preparation work needs to be done. One cannot suddenly appear in a factory with 30 or 40 pupils. The resources of the community must be inventoried. Contacts must be made with high-level leadership. Sometimes labor-union and Chamber of Commerce officials must be consulted. It is also desirable to tell community-resource people what we want out of a visit or out of participation by pupils. Careful exploration of this kind is essential if good relations are to be maintained and if the work is to be most productive.

Not only are these laboratory facilities available to us but in many instances they have as great a need of our leadership talent as we have of the laboratory facilities. There is probably no community surrounding any school or college that is not in dire need of the leadership talents of the teachers in that school. And certainly no such school can be as effective as it should be without the fullest use of this community. I am constantly baffled by the enigma of the fact that, while most of us must recognize the interdependence of educational institutions and communities, few of us have given any emphasis to the use of the community, and still fewer have developed any organized plans for bringing school and community into a helpful, co-operative relationship. My own conviction is that the changes we make in curriculum, methods of teaching, and instructional materials will gain us little in the way of really vital changes in education. They are, in a general way, mere tinkering with the educational process. A larger use of the community by the school and a greater contribution by the school to the community would, I believe, be the educational atomic bomb. Such co-operative action on the part of schools and communities could radically alter the power of education.

The problem of practical operational policy and procedure in many cases seems baffling even if one is guided by sound principle and reasonably well-tested theory. In many situations there are teachers of long experience, competent in their way, who have spent their professional lives in subject-matter teaching without

much attention to broader objectives in character development and behavioral improvement on the part of pupils. Young teachers who know they are learning will respond readily to guidance, but experienced staff members with considerable self-confidence reinforced by tenure status may present the supervisor with quite another problem. Often a direct attack on the matter may not only fail but result in a defensive attitude that resists all change. Here we must remember that it is experience that changes people. Hence, service on a youth project where one has a chance to observe the gap between knowledge and behavior, travel to another country during which one may be stimulated to think fundamentally about social and educational problems, workshops, and visitation of especially competent teachers are examples of indirect attacks on the problem. But the supervisor must win the confidence of the teacher he hopes to change. It is the people we trust, admire, and enjoy who move us to accept what they stand for. Dislike of a supervisor may lead to emotional and intellectual opposition to his ideas.

Impatience will only retard progress. Pressures—political, professional, social—may all have the opposite effect to the one we seek. The teacher is the largest single factor in education, and ordering him to do what we believe is best when he neither accepts our ideas nor knows how to carry them out can have no good outcomes.

We must begin with people where they are, have and express faith in them, give them our understanding and affection, and help them to the constructive and satisfying experiences which lead them to see the power of the kind of education that seeks not only knowledge but modified behavior.

We shall not make fullest use of communities in education until we develop what we might call the education-centered community—namely, a community which, in all of its functioning, seeks educational outcomes. The education-centered community would give us greater educational power not only by increasing the amount of education through participation but also by adhering to the other principles with which we have dealt in this chapter. If we seek education through participation, we shall be encouraged to judge the progress of our pupils more in terms of their behavior, their sense of responsibility, and their attitude toward their fellow men

than if we conduct that education largely as book-learning. Moreover, if we seek the use of the total community we shall be encouraged to raise our sights and broaden our perspective, increasing our knowledge and understanding of our community as it extends itself to become the world of all men. When we use the community as a laboratory we shall be more mindful of the way in which the total community influences the development of the child. In this way we shall be prepared to influence that total community as we are not now shaping it because of the remoteness of our contacts. Similarly, if we work in the community we shall develop a sense of being on the team, not only with each other but with community people as well. It is in the community that we can see freedom at work, that we can also see the devastating results of the denial of freedom. We shall, therefore, through our community work, be more mindful of both the power and the preciousness of freedom.

Conclusion

I am aware that the foregoing places a heavy set of responsibilities at the door of those who are concerned with the improvement of teaching, whether they are superintendents, principals, special supervisors of elementary education, or teachers of social studies. But I am fully convinced that the older patterns of supervisory procedure with their didactic methods, their narrow subject-matter absorption, and their schoolroom blinders will come nowhere near giving us the kind of social-studies instruction that we need if America is to remain free and become more dynamic in freedom.

The crying need of schools in our day is for a more vigorous, creative, and life-giving leadership. The fear of leadership which exists in some quarters is to be deplored. Some have distorted the teachings of group dynamics to indicate that all influence by one individual human being on other human beings is bad. One gets the impression in listening to some of these people that the administrator or supervisor is, at best, a mere errand boy for a group of teachers. To advocate a leadership of this kind is to misread the meaning of democracy and to give the teachers a stone at a time when they need life-giving bread. We should not be afraid of strong leadership. Supervisors should have ideas and should not be afraid to express them. We want them to have power because it is through

power that they can liberate others. Weaken the supervisor, and you go far to destroy his capacity to liberate teachers and pupils for creative action. Effective leadership and supervision (improvement of teaching, if you please) in the social studies means living with teachers, pupils, and people of the community in such a way that with every passing year we have a community that is more education-centered, a community in which we can all learn by living.

CHAPTER XIII

The Yearbook's Proposals in Relation to Certain Realities Facing the Elementary School

RALPH C. PRESTON

The elementary school directs the learning of its pupils for a comparatively few, yet extremely important, years. In view of the school's limited opportunity and the immaturity of its subjects, how can teachers and school administrators be enabled to fulfil the many complex responsibilities proposed by the yearbook committees, commissions, and other educational investigative bodies, each of which approaches the child from the point of view of one specialized aspect of the curriculum? We know from past experience that too often such proposals have little impact on school practice. This gap between what is and what could and should be calls for more study than has yet been devoted to it.

To what extent will this yearbook's proposals regarding social studies find their way into elementary-school practice? Most of these proposals are regarded as valid by the student of child development, the student of the learning process, and the specialist in the social studies. Yet it is not enough to know they are good. How can they become operative?

Citing a few samples from the proposals in this yearbook will throw this question into sharper focus. Dimond suggests the desirability of checking the adequacy of the current body of curriculum content through an analysis of social trends. Ojemann advises the teacher to help the child not only to *know* the elements of good citizenship but to help him also find ways of working out his feelings so that he will wish to *act* in a socially responsible manner. Chase proposes a procedure for individualizing the development of thinking abilities by having children work in pairs, threes, or fives. Burrows suggests six different ways in which children can report the findings of their social-studies research. Wilson and Col-

lings explain how traditional content in geography and history may open avenues to international understanding. Oberholtzer and Madden describe the effectiveness of half a dozen different kinds of teams—various combinations of teacher-pupil-parent groups—in evaluating social-studies instruction, each from a different angle and for a different purpose.

These are but a few examples from the many fertile suggestions for improving social-studies programs contained in this yearbook. Viewed as a whole, the various suggestions of the yearbook call for broader objectives, more imaginative methodology, and improved organization of social studies.

What are the realities facing today's elementary school that may cause many of these suggestions, though read by teachers and administrators, to go unheeded? What, if anything, can be done to facilitate their utilization?

Why Instruction Lags Behind the Hopes of Subject Specialists

Teachers and supervisors are often unresponsive to the pleadings of subject specialists because, in the total school day and in the school's larger objectives, any one subject necessarily plays but a limited role. The teacher and supervisor tend to recognize, as the subject specialist often does not, that the purposes of the elementary school transcend those of the subject specialist. The classroom teacher is trained, not as a subject specialist, but as a specialist in child development. These facts are not to be deplored—except the fact that the subject specialist lacks understanding. The phrase "all-around human growth," hackneyed and hollow as generally used by secondary-school and college teachers, actually operates at the elementary-school level—not universally, but commonly. The school subjects are commonly viewed as means to effective living. Thus, many of the suggestions of the subject specialist, in the total context of elementary education, appear to many teachers and supervisors as irrelevant technicalities. For example, the suggestion sometimes heard, that a globe should be used for comparison whenever a map is used, strikes many a teacher as pedantic and, at best, optional.

Moreover, the elementary-school teacher and supervisor are

understandably annoyed by the subject specialist's apparent unawareness of the many competing demands upon the teacher's time and attention. For the teacher, aside from instructing in the traditional subjects—reading, writing, arithmetic, social studies, science, art, or music—attends to the emotional climate of the classroom and the mental health of his pupils. He regulates the appearance and atmosphere of the classroom, as for example, pupil responsibility in classroom housekeeping; the needs of individuals or groups; standards of school citizenship as co-operatively developed; discussions for the informal exchange of ideas and experiences. He also supervises recess and physical-education periods and handles a myriad other administrative and instructional matters. Hence, the teacher may reject not only the specialist's advice but the specialist himself, because of his ignorance or lack of understanding of the teacher's total job.

Finally, a sizable portion of today's elementary-school teachers consist of young women who are comparatively new to the profession and who view teaching as a fleeting activity between college and marriage; and of older women who, with their children grown, have returned to teaching. The first group contributes a desirable vitality and freshness but includes many who are satisfied with the status of their professional knowledge. The second group often contributes a needed warmth, maturity, and wisdom but includes many women who, because of household responsibilities at home, find it difficult to give adequate time to class preparation or professional reading and fall back on the patterns of teaching which they practiced in their youth. Because of the unstable membership in the profession of elementary-school teaching, proposals of subject specialists may receive scant attention.

*Ways in Which the Work of the Elementary-School Teacher
Can Be Made More Compatible with Reality*

Thus we see that the range of work of the elementary-school teacher is so vast, the teacher's tenure often so brief, and the time for class preparation and professional reading often so limited that many of the aims which the various specialists feel should be achieved are not achieved. The consequence is that the interests of the child may be betrayed. This appears on the surface to be an

insoluble dilemma. Perhaps nothing can or should be done to stabilize the profession; but a little reflection on the subject calls to mind a number of ways which have been successfully tried to make the elementary-school teacher's job a feasible and reasonable occupation. Specialists of all subjects should renew the attack on this problem. The remainder of this chapter will deal chiefly with its solution in the social-studies area.

First, the possibilities of economizing time through having units in social studies and science serve as integrating centers in the curriculum have not been realized by enough teachers. Heffernan effectively describes these possibilities in chapter v. Her treatment deserves careful study by every teacher and supervisor. Some teachers mistakenly look upon any kind of "integrating center" as overly complicated and even more time-consuming than their present methods; some of them still think, erroneously, that if you have an "integrating center," subjects go out the window. Heffernan's discussion should sound the death-knell of this misconception. "Emphasis on integration of the school program," she writes, "does not imply disregard for the school subjects. There is need for systematic practice in each useful skill." Burrows, in chapter vii, shows how a social-studies unit opens up opportunities for reading and writing. The reading that a pupil does in connection with a live social-studies unit often results in his lifting himself by his bootstraps; that is, he is motivated to putting his reading skill to use and, hence, may be able to read material which is graded above his reading "level." As Gates and Pritchard have shown, by reducing the time allotment for reading instruction, reducing the pressure on reading, and increasing the time allotment for social-studies projects, children can learn to read more widely and to enjoy their reading more.¹ Thus units in social studies and science can be vehicles for the practice, application, and refinement of reading, writing, and other skills that will facilitate learning and that do not require the teacher's borrowing time from Peter to pay Paul.

Another saving in teacher time and energy occurs when the teacher develops the same content year after year. For example, a

1. Arthur I. Gates and Miriam C. Pritchard, *Teaching Reading to Slow-learning Children*, p. 62. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1942.

unit on transportation calls for less planning and daily preparation each time it is taught. Some supervisors propose just the opposite—that the teacher vary his content from year to year lest he “get in a rut.” Actually, one of the satisfactions in teaching comes from dealing with subject matter that one has become steeped in and has developed scholarship in. Scholarship has so often been associated with the search by cloistered professors for obscure minutiae that we have forgotten that scholarship can just as properly describe the search of a primary-grade teacher for data on fire protection or milk distribution. Some supervisors, perhaps unaware of the security and satisfaction that scholarship brings to the teacher, fear that a teacher who deals with content in which he has developed scholarship will “hand out” too much information and not encourage the children to do enough digging on their own. A poor teacher might do this whether he had developed scholarship in the topic or not. A teacher who understands the needs of children will not “unload” what he knows, whether or not he has developed scholarship in a field; but if his knowledge is extensive he is in an especially strong position to use the field to develop in his charges a questioning spirit and a thirst for facts.

Relief from pressure comes to teachers whenever they are not expected to engage in full-fledged unit teaching at all times throughout the school year. This practice is based on the belief that one unit well taught, making use of such suggestions as those in the chapters by Heffernan, Chase, and Burrows, for example, for a beginning teacher at least, should be regarded as sufficient for an entire school year. The social studies for the remainder of the year might consist of simple textbook reading and recitation. Those who object to thus reducing the demands on a teacher may be unaware of how exhausting the first teaching years can be, of how little background some beginning teachers have for unit teaching, and of the possibilities, definitely present though admittedly limited, of straightforward textbook-recitation teaching.

A number of school systems have succeeded in lightening the teacher's load and increasing faculty morale by providing supervision in the major subject areas. In the social-studies area, at least, there is evidence that many teachers would like more help in teaching than they receive. Foster has found that many of their requests

for help relate to detailed procedures; he also found that many teachers want just plain reassurance that they are on the right track.² Acting in a supervisory capacity in the Philadelphia public schools (which, incidentally, has a lucid and explicit course of study in elementary-school social studies), Foster visited teachers solely on an "on call" basis. He analyzed the nature of 467 consecutive voluntary calls upon his services from a district comprising 32 schools. Heading the requests were those dealing with methods (mostly details of unit procedure). Next in frequency were requests for him merely to observe some aspect of teaching—exhibits, classes at work, and the like. In many of these instances it was clear that the teacher was seeking recognition of his work. Many teachers—the strong ones as well as the weak—appear to be hungry for a pat on the back.

Teachers have been eloquent in acknowledging the difference it makes to work in a school in which the school or classroom libraries are supplied with an abundance and variety of supplementary social-studies teaching aids: reference books, biography, fiction with authentic historical or regional setting, films, and filmstrips. In schools not so equipped, a conscientious teacher must devote a disproportionate share of his spare time looking for supplementary materials to accommodate several levels of reading difficulty. Not only should these materials be readily available to the teacher but they should be marked and catalogued topically in standard library form for easy access. Furthermore, indexes to children materials, such as the *Children's Catalogue* and *Educational Film Catalogue*, should be kept in a central place and every teacher instructed in their use.

People of the community, outside the school, who have special interests and knowledge which they are willing to present before a class, can often provide worth-while data in social-studies classes. But how is the teacher to find them if he is a stranger in the community? A number of supervisors and principals have made it easy for him to locate and invite these people to share their specialities

2. Marcus A. Foster, "Teachers' Questions about Social Studies and Their Implications for Supervision." Ed.D. thesis, University of Pennsylvania, in preparation. The findings reported above are based on a tabulation of data according to preliminary and tentative categories.

with a class. These schools keep a file of people in the community who have volunteered their services. One school sends to every adult resident of its community a card on which to indicate whether he is willing to make a presentation to a class and if so, in what area (e.g., showing slides depicting life in a specified region, telling about an industrial process, or showing native dress of a foreign country). The card also asks the age levels of children the adult feels comfortable with and when he is most likely to be available.

A teacher, harried by the varied demands upon his energy and imagination, is often relieved when he discovers an effective way to use a textbook in a class characterized by a wide range of reading abilities. But his original frustration may return, increased, when a supervisor advises him to abandon the textbook in favor of a variety of other materials. For this robs certain teachers of the security a textbook affords, and proposes an alternative which creates for these teachers a still more difficult teaching problem than the original one. Chase, in chapter vi (see his treatment of "Handling Intake and Output of Ideas"), offers a solution (the use of study guides with teams of two or three pupils) that has proved feasible for many textbook-dependent teachers. Demonstration of this procedure by supervisor or principal reveals its comparatively simple and effective nature. It partly solves the perennially baffling problem, when the same textbook is used by each pupil, of providing meaningful experiences for individuals of different reading abilities and problems.

The suggestions in this section thus far have been confined to what the supervisor or principal might do to lighten the teachers' load and thereby bring improved social-studies instruction within every teacher's grasp. Teacher-training institutions, too, have obligations to their students in this area. Not the least of these is to provide the prospective teacher with a richer background in the social sciences. It is futile to expect a teacher to undertake successful programs of unified social studies when his preparation has consisted primarily of specialized courses in history and geography. If he is to introduce the child to the community and to the world as they exist in their many interrelationships, then he should have the opportunity during his period of preparation of studying society as a web of closely interwoven threads. In specific terms, this probably

means less specialized history and geography in his college work and a richer offering of anthropology and sociology.

Toward More Realizable Goals

Nothing can induce greater frustration in a conscientious worker in any field than the belief that his performance falls far short of the mark. Subject specialists have been seriously at fault in proposing, through their textbooks, teacher manuals to basic textbooks, and other media, many more tasks and responsibilities than can be realistically budgeted; many more activities than the teacher can realistically make class preparation for; and complex, intricate methodology which confuses rather than enlightens. The time has come for subject specialists to recognize the true nature of the elementary-school teacher's function. Instead of increasing the harried feeling many teachers have today, the specialist should contribute to their release by acknowledging their integrating function. The contributors to this yearbook have clearly shown the relationship between social studies and other important areas of learning. Their suggestions should be reassuring because they demonstrate that, with the overlapping of the various areas, former beliefs about how much time should be spent in teaching each distinct subject may be discarded.

Unfortunately, some teacher-education institutions and some administrators and supervisors have drawn dubious conclusions from the discovery that interrelationships and overlapping are present in the curriculum. Certain colleges have permitted broad, integrated curriculum courses to swallow up such courses as the teaching of reading, the teaching of arithmetic, and other methods courses. Often the integrated course is taught by a "generalist" who is not abreast of the research in any of the special areas of his subject and who glorifies the "integrating function" of the elementary-school teacher to absurdity. Certain supervisors and principals have made the situation still worse by speaking lightly of the technical aspects of instruction. In the teaching of reading, such practices and attitudes unwittingly paved the way for the Carden, Hay-Wingo, Flesch, and other lopsided phonic systems.

It is the child who loses out when his teachers lose contact with

subject specialists. It is a responsibility of the subject specialist, however, to recognize the competing demands upon the elementary-school teacher and to think through the operation of any proposal he makes so that it will be of a practicable character and capable of realization.

Needless to say, the social-studies specialist also has research responsibilities. He shares with other educators the responsibility for investigating problems which frustrate the teacher's best efforts to build constructive values and interests. How, for example, can we build integrity and objectivity in the face of today's promotional material which contains exaggeration bordering on deception? Indoctrination is often presented in the guise of free inquiry. Society is incomprehensibly tolerant of, or perhaps resigned to, such attempted manipulation of the minds of others. How can schools build in children the habit of honest searching for facts when the children realize that men and organizations who deal dishonestly with men's thoughts and feelings have attained a measure of respectability? "The moral problem of our time," writes Cadbury, "is almost precisely that of extending outside the field of science these qualities. Honesty, disinterestedness, patience, objectivity are certainly needed for the social life of mankind."³ Another problem is how to sustain the curiosity evinced in abundance by young children and which declines over the succeeding years. "The tragedy of American education," writes Gould, "appears to be that the initial sense of wonder and the urge to explore, so characteristic in the young child, are lost in his secondary schooling, and are never rediscovered during his years in higher education."⁴ As intermediate-grade teachers can testify, they begin to be lost, indeed, before the period of secondary education begins. Here we have two major obstacles to the realization of social studies objectives which deserve immediate and assiduous study.

3. Henry J. Cadbury, "Science and Conscience." *Pendle Hill Bulletin*, CXXXI (August 1956), 3.

4. Samuel B. Gould, "Breaking the Thought Barrier," *Antioch Notes*, XXXIII, No. 2, October 1955.

Index

- Adams, Mary A., 142
- Aggressive behavior, causes and manifestations of, among elementary-school children, 106-9
- American Association of School Administrators, 40, 221
- American economy, changes in controlling factors of, 60-68
- Analysis of social trends as a factor in the organization of social-studies programs, 49-54
- Asheim, Lester E., 71
- Atomic energy, relation of, to economic resources and controls of the nation, 62-64
- Attitudes of children in different school situations toward the social studies as subjects of instruction, 166-74
- Audience reaction to reporting activities of pupils, importance of careful preparation for, 210-12
- Automation, influence of, on economic change, 65
- Baker, Emily V., 168
- Baker, H. V., 85, 86, 93
- Basic human activities as factors in an appropriate design for the social-studies program, 46-47
- Basic skills for learning in the social-studies field, 187-88
- Behavior, factors involved in the development of desirable types of, 100-105
- Bennett, Herschel K., 158
- Bode, Boyd H., 49
- Bresnahan, Virginia W., 170
- Bronner, A. F., 78, 109
- Brown, Lewis, 41
- California State Central Committee on the Social Studies, objectives and procedures of, 32-33
- Characteristics of children which are important in relation to the planning of social-studies program for specified grade groups in the elementary school, 163-64
- Chase, W. Linwood, 167
- Child behavior: relation of, to interaction of motivating forces and concepts, 77-81; variability in patterns of, 76-77
- Citizen participation in curriculum study in Denver public schools, 275
- Citizenship education, definitions of, 214-15
- Citizenship Education Project of Teachers College, Columbia University, 220
- Classroom citizenship, values of teacher-pupil planning for development of, 224-26
- Claffey, Rose, 184
- Clark, Edythe T., 168
- Clift, David H., 71
- Communication, implications of, for social-studies instruction in the schools, 65-68
- Concepts of social behavior, selection of, on basis of situations with which children are confronted, 81-84
- Conference of educators and anthropologists in 1954 on contributions of anthropology to instruction in the social studies, 32
- Content of social-studies curriculum, inquiries regarding selection and organization of, 44-45
- Content of social-studies programs at different grade levels of elementary school, 142-47
- Contributions of social-trend analysis to the teaching of social studies in the elementary school, 52-54
- Co-operative behavior, methods of stimulating development of social concepts conducive to, 112-14
- Co-operative investigation of generalizations for social-studies content, 44-46

- Cotter, Margaret E., 185
 Couch, G. B., 102
 Counts, George, 59
 Criteria for selection of content of programs involved in education for citizenship, 233-34
 Critical reading in the social studies, development of, 194-96
 Criticisms of emphasis on social trends in relation to social-studies curriculum in the elementary school, 50-52
 Cultural exchange as an important element in the educational foundation of international understanding, 245-47
 Cultural products of other nationalities, relation of, to program of social studies in the elementary school, 125
 Current events as source of topics for social-studies classrooms, 151-52
 Current trends in organization of social-studies curriculum, 133-36
 Curriculum-making in the social-studies area: parents' participation in, 159-60; role of the teacher in, 157-59
 Democracy vs. totalitarianism, relation of, to social-studies curriculum, 56-57
 Design for social-studies program, 46-47
 Detroit Citizenship Education Study, 220
 Dewey, John, 11, 15
 Dewhurst, J. Frederick, 61, 68
 Dorr, M., 102
 Douglass, Malcolm P., 34, 36
 Drucker, Peter F., 61, 69
 Duffey, Robert V., 131, 133, 135, 153
 Eaton, M. T., 92
 Economic and technological trends, implications of, for the teaching of social studies, 60-68
 Education-centered community, advantages of, for improvement of social-studies instruction through use of community resources, 301-4
 Educational Policies Commission, 40, 56, 221
 Elementary education, specific purposes of, 120-21
 Ellsworth, Ruth E., 154
 Emlaw, Rita, 158
 Emotional health as foundation of effective citizenship, 217
 Eskridge, Thomas J., 194
 Ethics, availability of various concepts in different systems of, for use as objectives of instruction in the social studies, 38-44
 Evaluation data, use of, in administration of social-studies program in Denver public schools, 269-70
 Evaluation of social studies curriculum, 149-53
 Evaluation procedures applied to social-studies program in Denver city school system, 262-69
 Exceptional children in the social-studies program, suggestions for dealing with different types of, 172-73
 Expanding communities, relation of, to the design of appropriate social-studies curriculums, 46-47
 Fair, Jean, 148
 Farrell, Murriel, 92
 Fiction as reading materials in social-studies programs, 201-2
 Foley, Harriet M., 169
 Gay, Ella M., 170
 Generalization, different uses of the term, 28-29
 Generalizations derived from social-science disciplines, co-operative investigation of, 44-46
 Geography, importance of concepts of, for instruction in elementary-school social studies, 34-38
 Geography instruction in the elementary school, unique contribution of, to international understanding, 240-42
 Goodenough, F. L., 108
 Group life in the elementary school, relation of, to promotion of international understanding, 253-54
 Growth processes of children in relation to the teaching of social studies, 48-49
 Guideposts for improving citizenship education, 217-18
 Harap, Henry, 133
 Harrison, M. Lucile, 90, 92

- Hartshorne, H., 113
 Havighurst, R. J., 102
 Health education, contributions of the social studies to, 124-25
 Healy, W., 78, 109
 Herlihy, Jane M., 185
 Hilgard, E. R., 95, 96
 Hill, D. S., 101
 Hill, Wilhelmina, 154
 Historical background of social evolution, importance of, in promotion of international understanding through American education, 243
 Hodgson, Frank Milton, 131, 132, 134, 140, 146
 Holman, Eugene, 61
 Horn, Ernest, 91
 Hoveland, C. I., 108
- Ideological controversy, influence of, on the teaching of social studies, 56-57
 Importance of social studies in learning experiences, factors inhibiting pupils' recognition of, 167-69
 Individual differences in pupil needs with respect to social-studies concepts, importance of teacher attitudes toward, 165-66
 Individual freedom, importance of, in relation to the educational enterprise, 295-99
 Instruction in social studies, relation of teacher training to improvement of, 9
 Integrating centers involving units in social studies, use of, for economy of time, 309
 Interest of children in school activities, importance of, in relation to selection of concepts for emphasis in social studies, 84-86
 Internal organization of social-studies programs, different types of, 155-56
 International Labor Organization, 252
 International organizations, variety of programs supported by, 251-53
 International Postal Union, 251
 International Red Cross, 251
 International understanding: relation of, to general education, 239; relation of American elementary-school program to improvement of, 239-40
- Jack, Lois M., 111
- Jensen, K., 86
 Kern, Stella, 148
 Knowledge, role of, in education for citizenship, 230-33
 Lacey, J. M., 86, 90
 Language skills, overcoming barriers to the use of, in social-studies activities, 174-82
 Learning experiences, organization of, for social-studies classrooms, 153-56
 Learning process: nature of, in acquisition of motor skills as compared with problem-solving in the area of the social studies, 95-96; problem of differentiation of related concepts in the, 98; relation of the learner's motivation to progress in, 97
 Leary, Bernice E., 133
 Legislative requirements of programs in the social-studies area, 156-57
 Level of child development as related to understanding of social concepts, 92-95
 Levitt, E. E., 103, 114
 Lewin, Kurt, 107
 Library resources, advantages to teachers of liberal allowances for maintenance of, 311
 Library use in relation to social-studies program, 200-201
 Lippitt, R., 107
 Lyle, W. H., 103
- Mahoney, John J., 214
 Materials Policies Commission, 63
 May, M. A., 113
 McAulay, John D., 149
 McClusky, Howard Y., 73
 Miller, N. E., 108
 Morgan, Arthur E., 18
 Morgan, Mildred I., 113
 Morrison, J., 102
 Mowrer, O. H., 95
 Munn, N. L., 95, 98
- National Council for the Social Studies, 221
 National Education Association, 221
 National identification as foundation for development of international understanding, 247-48
- Oakden, E. C., 89

- Objectives of social studies in the school program, 2-3
- Objectives of social-trend analysis in connection with selection of content of social-studies program in elementary school, 52
- Ojemann, R. H., 87, 103, 113
- Opinion surveys of citizen attitude toward social-studies program in Denver school system, 273-76
- Organization of American States, 251
- Organization of elementary-school social studies, recognized types of, 130
- Participation as an important factor in learning experiences of both teachers and pupils, 299-301
- Patterns of organization of social studies at different grade levels, 131-33
- Penrose, William O., 215, 219
- Personal motivation of learning skills involved in social-studies activities, 191
- Pfieger, Elmer F., 217
- Plischke, John Ruff, 157
- Population changes, importance of, for teaching the social studies, 68-69
- Popularity of social studies in comparison with other school subjects, 166-67
- Power resources of the nation as a factor in determination of curriculum content in the social studies, 61-63
- Preparation of teachers and supervisors, important factors involved in, 289-90
- Preston, Ralph C., 91, 93, 134, 136
- Problem-solving: as an essential experience in relation to education for citizenship, 226-30; need for emphasis on, as means of promoting international understanding, 249
- Purposes of elementary education, learning experiences contributing to the achievement of, 121
- Ragan, William B., 54
- Reading materials in the social studies, nature of, 193-94
- Reference skills, values of, in social-studies reading, 198-200
- Repetition of topical units in social-studies program, opportunities for lightening teacher load by means of, 309-10
- Reporting procedures suitable for social-studies experiences, need for careful planning of, 207-10
- Research activities of capable readers in the intermediate grade social-studies program, 205-6
- Research potentialities in primary grades, 203-5
- Retarded readers in intermediate grades of social-studies program, availability of research activities for, 206-7
- Richardson, Clarence O., 152
- Riesman, David, 7
- Robinson, M. Z., 102
- Rugg, Harold, 8
- Sand, Ole, 48
- School experiences, importance of, in relation to social concepts of children in elementary grades, 91-92
- School policies and procedures, implications of, for social change in American education, 73-75
- Schorling, Raleigh, 73
- Science, use of, in the development of the social-studies curriculum, 123
- Scott, Lucy, 89
- Sears, R. R., 108
- Selective procedures in reading, importance of, 194-96
- Sense of belonging, an important factor in teacher morale, 292-95
- Sequence in social-studies curriculum organization, bases of determination of, 139-42
- Shimberg, M. E., 87
- Shores, J. Harlan, 63
- Skill subjects, contribution of the social studies to learning experiences in, 125-27
- Smith, B. Othanel, 63
- Social behavior, promoting desirable types of, 286-89
- Social change in relation to social studies in the elementary school, 49-52
- Social-civic behavior, promoting development of skills and techniques essential to satisfactory achievement of, 183-86

- Social concepts, development of, 86-95
- Social education of children, responsibility of the school for, 4-7
- Social engineering, importance of, in citizenship education, 1
- Social heritage: influence of, on development of social behavior, 14-19; objections to revival of emphasis upon, 10-12; relation of social studies instruction to, 12-14
- Social motivation of learning skills employed in social-studies programs, 190-91
- Social sciences: identification of generalizations and values from, 31-45; relation of, to social studies in elementary school, 29-31
- Social studies: defining goals of, in elementary school, 121-22; dual focus of, in elementary grades, 48-49; impact of culture on, 5-7; as integrating center of elementary-school curriculum, 127-28; popular doubts about, 20-25
- Social-studies program in Denver public schools, 258-61
- Society as a conditioning factor in the teaching of social studies, 48-49
- Stanley, William O., 63
- State-adopted textbooks, effects of, on selection of learning materials for social-studies classes, 157
- Stiles, Francis F., 87
- Sturt, M., 89
- Student government, suggestions for improvement of, 223
- Subject matter of the social studies at the elementary-school level, nature of, 122-23
- Supervision in major subject areas as means of reducing teacher load in the area of the social studies, 310-11
- Tasks involved in improving the social studies curriculum, 48-49
- Teacher-pupil planned units as a source of content organization of social studies, 153
- Teacher-training institutions, responsibility of, for enriching social-studies content of preservice-education curriculums, 312-13
- Teacher understanding of international relations, need for greater emphasis on, 250
- Textbooks in the social studies, objections to use of required selections, 196-98
- Three-dimensional design for social-studies program in the elementary school, 46-47
- Topics for study in social-studies program, children's preferences for, 170-73
- Toynbee, Arnold J., 19
- Trager, Helen G., 219
- Transportation in relation to economic developments, 65-68
- Tufts Civic Education Center at Medford, Massachusetts, 215
- Turck, Fenton, 62, 69, 70
- Turner, Charles S., 134, 147
- Tyler, Ralph W., 52
- UNESCO, 251
- Unique function of the social studies in the total program of the elementary school, 122-23
- United Nations, 251, 253; balance of power in, 58
- Unit-organization of learning experiences within the classroom, 153
- Value concepts in the social-studies area, knowledge of, among elementary-school children, 100-105
- Values of organizing and presenting reports of social-studies activities, 212-13
- Variable rate of development of concepts in social studies, 88-90
- Variety in selection of materials and activities, advantages of, for classroom work in the social studies, 202-3
- War as a factor in planning the social-studies program for the elementary school, 57-60
- Wesley, Edgar B., 142
- Weston, Grace L., 217
- White, R. K., 107
- Whitehead, Alfred North, 12
- Wisconsin Co-operative Educational Planning Program, statement of major goals of a democratic society by, 54-56

- Withdrawal behavior, investigations
relating to the causes of, 110-12
- Wolfe, Dael, 113
- Wolfe, Helen, 113
- World leadership, position of the
United States in relation to, 58
- World political trends, influence of,
on the teaching of social studies,
56-60
- World University Service, 252
- Yarrow, Marian Radke, 219
- Zelen, Seymour, 99

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6. **PAYMENT OF DUES.** Statements of dues are rendered in October for the following calendar year. Any member so notified whose dues remain unpaid on January 1, thereby loses his membership and can be reinstated only by paying a reinstatement fee of fifty cents.

School warrants and vouchers from institutions must be accompanied by definite information concerning the name and address of the person for whom membership fee is being paid. Statements of dues are rendered on our own form only. The Secretary's office cannot undertake to fill out special invoice forms of any sort or to affix notary's affidavit to statements or receipts.

Cancelled checks serve as receipts. Members desiring an additional receipt must enclose a stamped and addressed envelope therefor.

7. **DISTRIBUTION OF YEARBOOKS TO MEMBERS.** The yearbooks, ready prior to each February meeting, will be mailed from the office of the distributors, only to members whose dues for that year have been paid. Members who desire yearbooks prior to the current year must purchase them directly from the distributors (see Item 8.)

8. **COMMERCIAL SALES.** The distribution of all yearbooks prior to the current year, and also of those of the current year not regularly mailed to members in exchange for their dues, is in the hands of the distributor, not of the Secretary. For such commercial sales, communicate directly with the University of Chicago Press, Chicago 37, Illinois, which will gladly send a price list covering all the publications of this Society. This list is also printed in the yearbook.

9. **YEARBOOKS.** The yearbooks are issued about one month before the February meeting. They comprise from 600 to 800 pages annually. Unusual effort has been made to make them, on the one hand, of immediate practical value, and, on the other hand, representative of sound scholarship and scientific investigation.

10. **MEETINGS.** The annual meeting, at which the yearbooks are discussed, is held in February at the same time and place as the meeting of the American Association of School Administrators.

Applications for membership will be handled promptly at any time on receipt of name and address, together with check for \$6.00 (or \$5.50 for reinstatement). Applications entitle the new members to the yearbook slated for discussion during the calendar year the application is made.

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Chicago 37, Illinois

NELSON B. HENRY, *Secretary-Treasurer*

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*Second Yearbook, 1903, Part I— <i>The Course of Study in History in the Common School</i> , Isabel Lawrence, C. A. McMurry, Frank McMurry, E. C. Page, and E. J. Rice	
*Second Yearbook, 1903, Part II— <i>The Relation of Theory to Practice in Education</i> , M. J. Holmes, J. A. Keith, and Levi Seeley	
Third Yearbook, 1904, Part I— <i>The Relation of Theory to Practice in the Education of Teachers</i> , John Dewey, Sarah C. Brooks, F. M. McMurry, et al.	\$0.53
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